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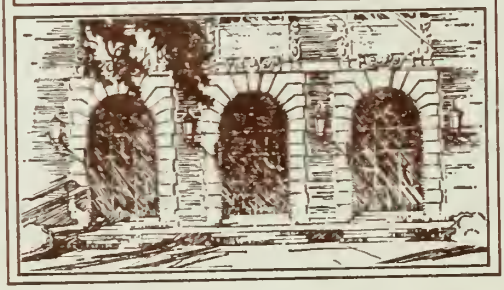

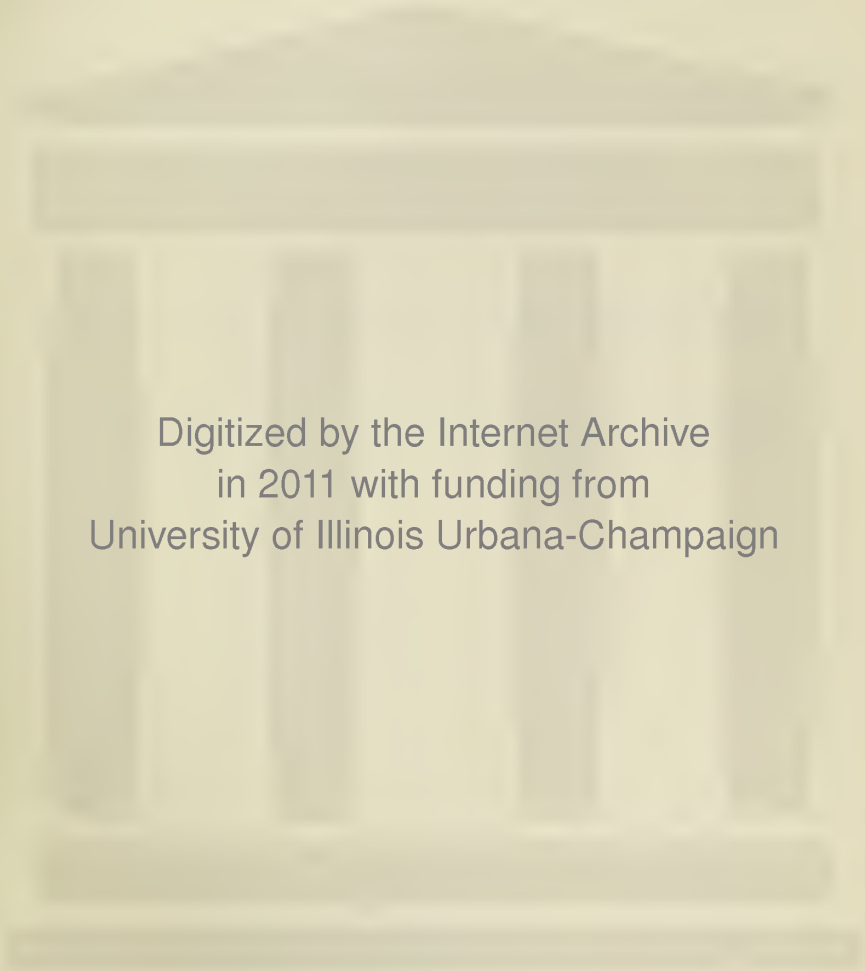

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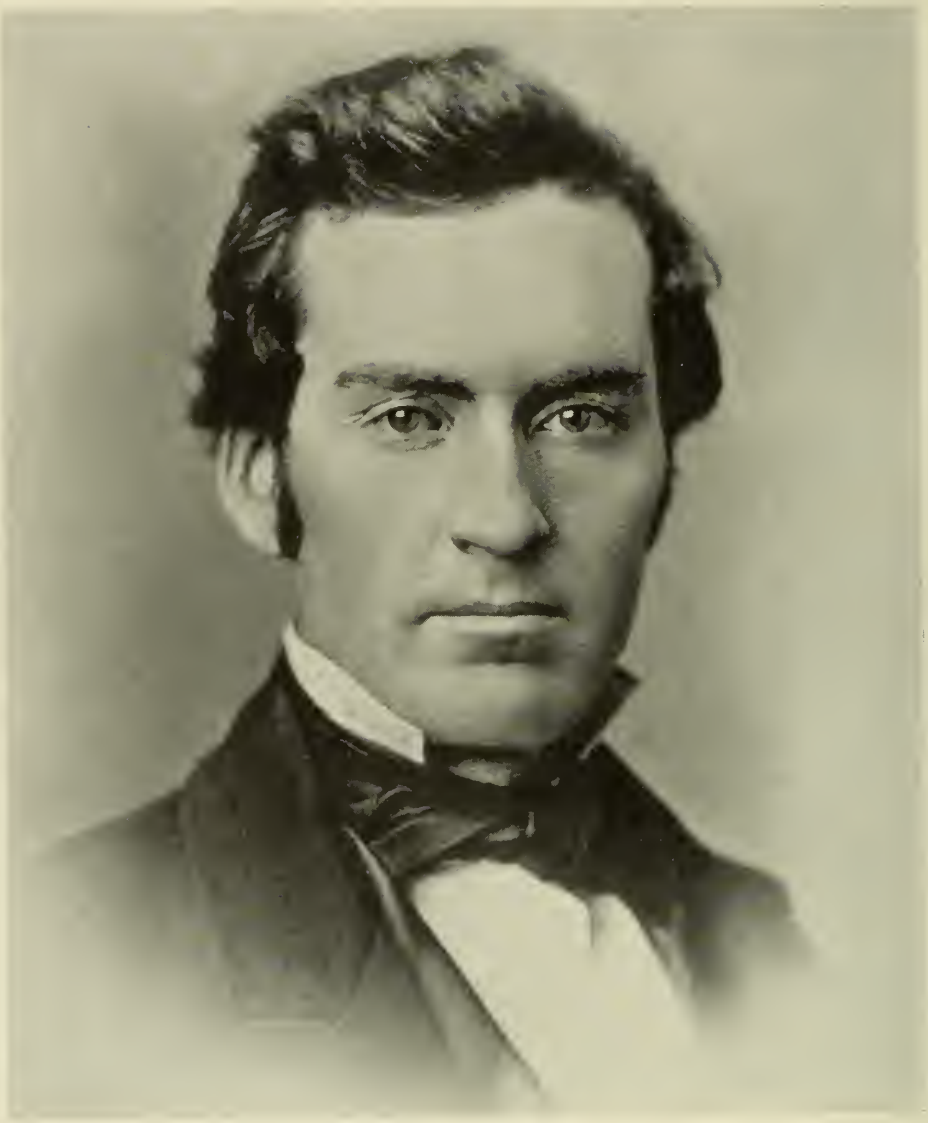
THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE

VOLUME I



JOSEPH MEDILL

In the spring of 1855, when he decided to follow Horace Greeley's advice and go into the newspaper business in Chicago.

I want the Tribune to continue to be after I am gone as it has been under my direction an advocate of political and moral progress, and in all things to proclaim the law of Common Sense. I desire the Tribune as a party organ, never to be the supporter of that party which sought to destroy the American Union or that existed to the State above the nation. Joseph Medill

The Chicago Tribune

Its First Hundred Years

BY

PHILIP KINSLEY

Volume I

1847 ❁ 1865

1943

Alfred A. Knopf : New York

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PREFACE

In undertaking to write the history of a newspaper the compiler quickly comes to realize that its annals embody in fact the history of its times, as recorded and seen through the newspaper's pages. Such a survey reveals the paper's attitude toward public affairs, national and local, its emphasis on this and that news development, supplemented by its editorial comment and criticism.

A newspaper which through the passage of years has become rooted as an institution, developed a clearly defined character, and so grown to warrant a historical review, is much like an individual; in fact, it is a composite of the individuals who direct it. Thus it seems to be properly the subject matter for a biographer or for his cousin, the historian.

The *Chicago Tribune* was founded on June 10, 1847. The approach of its hundredth year of life furnishes an appropriate occasion to trace and write the paper's annals. In a sense, the paper has written its own history at the rate of 365 volumes a year, and this review must be a condensation and selection — a sort of rewrite man's job.

The *Tribune's* tradition of independence is borne out by a fair and unbiased survey of its years. This spirit of independence, joined to strong convictions, was inherent in its editors, who moreover found that it was what the people wanted, whether or not they agreed with the ideas of any particular editor or editorial. The paper from the outset was virile, and through triumphs and defeats alike (it suffered many of the latter) it remained a vital factor in the life of the city and re-

gion in which it grew. Perhaps for a longer period than any other American newspaper it has been under the guidance of members of one family, a circumstance that through the generations has given unity to the foundations of its policies. Its independence, often viewed by its critics as idiosyncrasy, extravagance, and inconsistency, traces back to the fact that through its many years of life it has been directed by men whose primary interest has been the paper itself — men without outside interests, obligations, or ambitions.

In the nearly one hundred years of the *Tribune's* life many other papers have risen and fallen in Chicago. This history will not attempt to draw conclusions, but the story of the paper's first century may reveal that one reason for the *Tribune's* survival is that its editors in the main have been newspaper men, first, last, and all the time. The detailed history of the paper may throw light on this point.

So, with the centennial of the *Tribune* approaching, it is proposed to issue in book form a series of historical sketches covering the life of the paper, the last one to be issued in the centennial year, 1947.

The first volume, of which this is a preface, covers the period from the founding of the paper in 1847 through the spring of 1865 to the end of the Civil War and the death of Lincoln, with whose political history the early *Tribune* is inextricably bound. In these eighteen years the paper passed through the troubles of infancy and the uncertainties of adolescence and attained maturity. Its first issue of 400 copies, published on June 10, 1847, had grown in 1865 to 40,000; its staff of 4 to a payroll of 265. The better-known editors whose activity on the paper continued through the war and beyond did not, in fact, take control of the paper until 1855, eight years after its founding; but it has seemed logical and interesting to trace the building of the newspaper from the very beginning. One man who was on the staff in 1861 when the war began had been on the paper for a time in 1848. That was

John Locke Scripps of the family which later became noted in American journalism. The other men who assumed direction of the paper in 1855 were Joseph Medill and Dr. Charles H. Ray. William Bross, Alfred Cowles, and Horace White came in later. The activities of these men and of their newspaper in connection with the Lincoln-Douglas debates and in the great campaign that resulted in the election of Lincoln of course occupied much of the attention of the *Tribune* of those days and there need be no apology for the space given to those great campaigns and the newspaper's relation to them.

In reviewing the rise and political triumph of Lincoln, the founding of the Republican Party, and the surge of events through the Civil War, the compiler of this book has tried to hold constantly in mind the fact that this is primarily a history of the *Tribune* — of its part in the great struggle. This history shows the slow evolution toward the war, the fumbling through it, and the beginning of the world that was built out of it. It reflects the eddies and currents of great social movements, such as the beginning of the labor movement, communism, woman suffrage, and prohibition. It shows how Chicago met or failed to meet its problems of crime and poverty.

It shows, above all, Joseph Medill in action day after day, year after year, building this institution. A young Ohio editor, with reddish hair and spare figure, he walked into the *Tribune* office one spring morning in 1855, and thereafter the paper's history was largely of his making.

Emerging as the dominant figure of the *Tribune* for his lifetime, Mr. Medill's character, which is revealed in this volume, was marked by courage, the courage that rose to meet attack and emergencies, defeats and victories, in these stormy, formative years. He and Dr. Ray wrote at times like prophets and angels, and at other times the *Tribune* ink was used with the glee of a small boy throwing mud over the back fence. Again, it became the sword of a stern, avenging justice. A code of hard kindness developed in these men — a code that had in it

the stern religious background of a Puritan, almost Calvinistic, heritage. The South could not win the war because it was wrong. Its cause ran counter to the divine lines of progress and harmony and violated the principle of individual human freedom. The *Tribune* under these editors brought a consistent, liberal approach to all social and religious questions; it held to a faith in a ruling Providence, which, it contended, sent Lincoln to the nation. When the editors saw Grant's star from afar, this they considered to be another manifestation of God's plan for the nation.

It was hard to believe in this continuing purpose during the turmoil following the war, when Lincoln had been taken from them and the world again became dark. This period of reconstruction will be covered in the second volume of this history.

Supplementary to the history of the paper, covering its impact on the life of its period year by year, there is also what might be called its technical history — its progress in circulation and in mechanical equipment, in advertising, in the scope of its news coverage, in development of features and illustrations, in its papermaking, and so on. It is planned to cover this progress in a series of departmental chapters to be embodied in the final volume.

AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT

EDWARD SCOTT BECK, *a member of the* Tribune's *editorial staff for 45 years and managing editor for 26 years, planned this history, made the assignments for its writing, selected the illustrations and read copy and wrote chapter headings for this first volume. He also collaborated in the writing of the preface, which gives his ideas as to the scope and possibilities of the history and the secret of the* Tribune's *growth to the largest circulation among standard sized newspapers in the United States. This was his last job, for he died on Christmas night 1942, after an illness of two months.*

Mr. Beck was in his 74th year and had retired from active work on January first, 1942. His career on the Tribune *began in the days of Joseph Medill. He became city editor, managing editor and finally assistant to the editor in chief, Colonel Robert R. McCormick, Medill's grandson.*

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P. K.

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Part I

1847 ❁ 1860

Chapter One

THE AWAKENING MIDDLE WEST

The year 1847, which marks the birth of the *Chicago Tribune*, was a year of numerous historical beginnings.

Chicago was at the dawn of a new commercial and political era. The great new region west of the Alleghenies, something different from that part of the nation formed by the thirteen colonies, was on the march, and Chicago was becoming its dynamic expression.

The foundation had been laid long before, through flames and rocks, coral seas and ice fields. Later the towers of the future were outlined in the smoke from wigwam fires and in the sunset palaces of clouds that drifted across the prairies. Sky-blue waters, treasures of earth's finest valley table, provided the pathways of future commerce carved out by nature.

Now in this year of '47 came the creative mind. A free people gathered momentum and set to work to make a dream of the human race come true. The first railroad was at hand. The telegraph outposts were near. The Illinois-Michigan canal, a linking of water highways foreseen by the first white men to come this way, was about ready. Gas lights were around the corner. Plank roads were bringing the city out of the mud. The first stockyards had come and the manufactured reaper. Although less important at the moment than Galena or Peoria or

Milwaukee, Chicago was moving to the rhythm of a new and expanding life. At this moment also, as a remote coincidence, Thoreau was leaving his bean field and dreams at Walden Pond and entering the world of men again.

A national consciousness of Chicago's possible future importance was awakened in that year by a Rivers and Harbors congress, which brought delegates from east and south. They came in by boat and stage and almost doubled the city's population of 16,000 the first week of July. One of the delegates was the new Whig Congressman from the Sangamon River district, Abraham Lincoln, then thirty-eight years old. Lincoln saw the Great Lakes for the first time and made a speech which was commented on favorably by another delegate, Horace Greeley of New York. Greeley got some new ideas about the West on this visit and a few years later advised two young newspaper friends of his, Joseph Medill of Cleveland and Charles H. Ray of Galena, to start a newspaper in this West of the golden future. That was one thread woven into the great pattern.

While the gold of California and Colorado was not to become a western lure for another two or three years, in 1847 there was another event that was threaded into the loom. In Mexico a young lieutenant of the United States Army, Ulysses S. Grant, was winning a reward for gallantry in storming the heights of Chapultepec, seat of kings. A vast new territory, greater than continental Europe, was to be added to the young nation. Across the seas in this year the forces of destiny were moving against ancient wrongs in Germany, France, and Italy. The people were on the move everywhere against kings and tyranny, their boat adrift on a new sea, their compass set toward freedom, equality, fraternity, the dream of the great brotherhood.

Many set their faces toward this rising star of the West, Chicago, which had for its leaders the younger stock of the New England heritage, thinkers and builders of the American dream moving westward. These forces were to be joined by the more

hardy and adventurous of the European seekers after freedom, to find here a new center and soil for the growth of the human spirit. Not only physical but great spiritual forces were gathering. Within a decade the storm was to break here — the old struggle in a new form — with slavery and war overcasting this fair prospect and shaking the new towers to their foundations.

The writing of newspaper biography has never been a major interest of historians, although it would seem that this would be of as much importance as the study of the lives of individuals who have greatly influenced their country or their time. The newspaper life is largely that of individuals. The study of a newspaper, however, reveals in some strange manner the growth of an entity, almost a personality in itself.

In the study here undertaken we see the *Chicago Tribune* developing from obscurity at about the same rate and time that Abraham Lincoln was rising to power. This was not an accident or a coincidence. The *Tribune* of those days, according to A. T. Andreas, Chicago's most minute and comprehensive historian, represented in its policies and in its support the dominant thought of the West and Northwest. It personified in this critical time the power that got behind Lincoln and saw him through the great struggle. It was like an individual, sometimes stumbling and in error, but gradually rising to strength and greatness in the hour of test and need. Its great service to the time was to play an important part in the nomination and election of Lincoln. How important that part was will be developed in this story from historical sources.

It may be noted here that Professor William E. Baringer of the University of Illinois, author of *Lincoln's Rise to Power*, a professional historian who has made a study of the political technique involved in Lincoln's nomination and election, has this to say in a letter to the writer, dated July 1, 1941:

"You may quote me direct to the effect that the *Tribune* (not the *New York Tribune*), played a bigger part in Lincoln's nomination than any other newspaper. It would be too

much to say the same in regard to the election, but, for the Western regions of the country in 1860, the same thing could be said."

What Lincoln's term as President meant to the nation and the world has been the subject of a thousand books and pamphlets and is still a vital study and a continuing influence on American life.

Chapter Two

THE PAPER'S BIRTH

THE BIRTH of the *Tribune* was no more impressive or momentous than the earlier birth of " a new baby down at Tom Lincoln's cabin " near Hodgen's mill in Kentucky, or the founding of the first woodland settlement of Chicago itself.

The newspaper's first issue of 400 copies was hand-set and printed on a hand press on June 10, 1847, in a one-room plant in the third story of a building at La Salle and Lake Streets. One of the proprietors who was a pressman worked the edition off. Its arrival " on the stormy seas of Chicago journalism " was announced by one of its contemporaries, the *Journal*, and the new paper was congratulated on its appearance. It consisted of four pages, 22 by 36 inches, set in brevier type with advertisements in minion.

The early files were lost in the fire of 1871 and so it is not possible to comment specifically on them now, but the *Tribune* was, like all the newspapers of those days, a follower of English journalism in make-up, with the first page given to advertising cards. Much space was given to literary contributions,

1847. The building at the corner of Lake and LaSalle Streets in which the first copies of the Tribune *were printed.*

1849. The second home of the Chicago Tribune, *over Gray's grocery store at the corner of Lake and Randolph Streets.*

1852. The fifth home of the Chicago Tribune, *in the Evans Block, 53 Clark Street.*

Springfield June 15. 1859

Press & Tribune Co

Gentlemen

Herewith is a little draft to pay for your Daily another year from to-day— I suppose I shall take the Press & Tribune so long as it, and both live, unless I become unable to pay for it— In the devotion to our cause always, and to me personally last year I owe it a debt of gratitude, which I fear I shall never be able to pay

Yours very truly

A. Lincoln

Facsimile of a letter written to the Tribune *by Abraham Lincoln.*

including poems, and what little news there was, outside of local items, consisted of letters or clippings from the Eastern papers.

The *Tribune* was the outgrowth of a literary weekly, the *Gem of the Prairie*, which had been started in 1844 by Thomas A. Stewart and James Kelly. They found that they needed a daily from which to make up the weekly paper and so the daily *Tribune* was established. This arrangement was continued until the *Tribune* established its own weekly edition a few years later.

The owners of the new venture, who were also the editors, writers, pressmen, and office boys, were James Kelly, John E. Wheeler, and Joseph K. C. Forrest. Kelly was a leather merchant. Wheeler was a frail, scholarly writer who had been on the staff of the *New York Tribune*. Forrest had worked on other Chicago papers. Both he and Wheeler were members of the Society of the New Jerusalem, which established the Swedenborgian Church at Wabash Avenue and Adams Street.

It was Forrest who proposed the name of the *Chicago Tribune*. He had borrowed $600 to invest in the paper, but by September of that same year he had come to regard it as a poor investment, and so he took his money out and went into a better job. Later he took credit for having "prophetically conceived" the Republican party at the time of the founding of the *Tribune*.

"The origin and establishment of the *Chicago Tribune*," Mr. Forrest said in an interview with historian Andreas in 1885, "were the initiation of an entirely new departure not only in journalism but in politics in Chicago and the Northwest. The creation of the Republican party (which came in 1854) is as much due to the establishment of the *Chicago Tribune* as to any other cause. It was carried along on what might be called 'that stream of Providence' which so often compels men and parties to be governed by events, which once having received an impetus in a given direction, are forever

after forced to the adoption of such ends as were originally proposed and provided for them."

While Mr. Forrest was somewhat mystical in his view of the founding of the *Tribune*, Mr. Andreas was plainly eulogistic. Every stroke of the press which turned out those first 400 copies, he wrote in his *History of Chicago* (Vol. I, page 401), "was annealing the superstructure upon which was erected the power and influence that has not alone decided the fate of this city, but of the Nation."

"From the *Tribune*, that had such an humble origin," Andreas continued, "have been uttered dicta that have controlled the destinies of parties and individuals of prominence in the country, and infused the people with that patriotism which bore such glorious results in the internecine conflict."

As news enterprise went in 1847 there were other and better papers in the field. The *Democrat*, the *Journal*, the *Times*, the *Post*, the *Republican*, and the *Inter Ocean* competed with the paper at various times. They all appeared to have as good a chance of survival as the *Tribune*, yet something happened to them all and their bones were left bleaching on the trail of newspaper history.

About the end of the Civil War, in 1865, the Chicago journalistic field was further invaded and the *Tribune* staff, which by that time had grown to considerable proportions, was raided by a new paper, the *Republican*, of which Charles A. Dana, former managing editor of the *New York Tribune*, was editor in chief. The owners of the *Republican* had plenty of capital at the start and spared no expense to get the news.

"Yet it [Dana's paper] did not succeed," Andreas relates. "It expounded protectionism most ably, yet the high tariff Republicans clung to the low tariff *Tribune*. It uttered the most advanced sentiments of the most advanced wing of the party, but the radicals clung to the *Tribune*."

Dana retired from the field and went to New York to go

with the *Sun*, which he subsequently made famous. The *Republican* expired in 1870.

To go back to the founding of the *Tribune*, the elements that conspired to make it a success are difficult to analyze. It was not alone that its early editors expressed the spirit of the new Northwest, as Andreas says. "Long John" Wentworth and his competing paper were vigorously of that same faith and spirit and yet the *Tribune* outlasted him. The answer is not simple. It must be sought in the record.

In its salutatory the *Tribune* said:

"Our views, in all probability, will sometimes be coincident with the conservatives; sometimes we may be found in the ranks of the radicals; but we shall at all times be faithful to humanity — to the whole of humanity — without regard to race, sectional divisions, party lines, or parallels of latitude or longitude." The motto appearing under the editorial was:

"Men of thought be up and stirring,
Night and day;
Sow the seed, withdraw the curtain;
Clear the way.
Men of action! aid and cheer them
As ye may."

Hardly had the *Tribune* been started when changes in ownership began. The early years show a succession of owners and editors, yet something had been born with a character that persisted in its development. An analogy might be found in science in the changes, the survival, or the extinction of species.

Incidentally it may be stated that the *Tribune* of this origin was not the first newspaper of that name in Chicago. A year before the *New York Tribune* was founded a man named E. G. Ryan came down from Milwaukee in 1840 and established in Chicago a weekly called the *Tribune*. Ryan's paper

was Democratic, supporting Martin Van Buren for a second term. When William Henry Harrison won the presidency Ryan's weekly folded up, after having printed just fifty-two weekly issues. Thus there was no connection between that paper and the *Tribune* of which this is a history, but the name *Tribune* was a Chicago newspaper name in the dawn of American journalism.

Chapter Three

JOHN LOCKE SCRIPPS

In tracing the *Tribune's* history from the beginning it should be borne in mind that during its first eight years (1847–1855) none of the forceful group of men led by Joseph Medill, who later gave continuity and leadership to the paper, had joined its staff. So in a sense the paper's real history began in 1855.

However, there was one important figure in the paper's early era – John Locke Scripps. Mr. Kelly withdrew from the paper on July 24, 1847, because of failing eyesight. On September 27 of the same year Mr. Forrest severed his connection. Mr. Wheeler then became editor. On August 23, 1848, Scripps bought a one-third interest and the firm became Wheeler, Stewart, and Scripps.

Scripps was a good newspaper man and for the next four years he did much to get the struggling infant on its feet, but he had no more heaven-sent vision of the *Tribune's* future than Joseph Forrest had had, and not long afterward he sold out to a syndicate of Whig politicians and started a new paper, the *Democratic Press,* with William Bross, bookseller.

Let us look at the city and the prospects it held for a newspaper. Chicago was a rough, backwoods town. There was not a mile of railway within a hundred miles. It was reached by stage and steamer from Kalamazoo. Even New Buffalo, Michigan, and Aurora looked more promising to many. Stock was being peddled for the Galena and Chicago Union Railway (later a part of the Chicago & North Western) and William B. Ogden got the *Tribune* proprietors to help him interest a doubting public in this venture.

The first telegraphic dispatch received in the *Tribune* office was on March 22, 1848, telling of events in France. The circulation of the paper was less than a thousand copies. The editors supported Martin Van Buren in his unsuccessful campaign against Zachary Taylor for President. That same year they were pleased to get the award of advertising the list of unclaimed letters on hand at the post office.

Ten years later, in 1858, Mr. Scripps' new paper consolidated with the *Tribune* and he rejoined the staff, participated in the Lincoln campaign, became Lincoln's earliest biographer, and was appointed postmaster of Chicago in 1861. He was senior editor of the *Tribune* from 1858 until 1861, and was the first president of the *Tribune* Company, which was organized as a corporation in 1861.

Because Scripps was one of the editors who guided the *Tribune* in its formative days, a little light on his background and mental outlook is desirable.

He was named after John Locke, the English philosopher whose thinking became a stimulus for the democratic movement that stirred the western world at this time – one of the lights followed by the fathers of the American Revolution.

Scripps, a cousin of the founder of the present Scripps chain of newspapers, was born in Missouri and came to Chicago from old McKendrie college in Illinois, where he had been a teacher in natural philosophy. He had strong abolitionist views. He saw Chicago's commercial possibilities and was one of the first

editors to present commercial news and reviews. He was also a lawyer and interested himself in legislative matters. His contemporaries speak of his thoughtfulness, earnestness, and unwearied perseverance. Horace White, one of the early *Tribune* editors, said of him:

" He was a man of most exemplary character and devotion to public interests, of great courtesy and inflexible in principle."

This suggestion of strong principles in a man unbending and unafraid becomes important in considering the growth of the *Tribune*. These principles were characteristic of all the paper's editors of the Civil-War period; their strength and ideas had a common basis, a common goal coalescing with the spirit of the times and finding practical expression in Lincoln in the political field. Some explanation is hereby afforded of the astonishing events that flowed from their leadership. When the time came to take sides in the slavery struggle in 1856, Scripps hoisted the banner of the new Republican party. According to a sketch of his life written by his daughter, Grace Locke Scripps Dyche, he wrote at this period:

" William [a brother] writes that I have ruined myself. If I am to be ruined at all, let it be from meeting the responsibilities of my position with a conscience void of offense toward God and man. I am content."

This is strangely reminiscent of Lincoln's attitude about the same time, when warned by his law partner, William H. Herndon, against uttering the belief that this country could not exist half slave and half free. Lincoln said he would rather go down to defeat than not make the statement when it was needed.

In a letter written in 1860 to his brother, George, in Detroit, Mr. Scripps said:

" I have been getting out a campaign life of Lincoln for the million, which is published simultaneously by us [the *Tribune*] and the *New York Tribune* establishment. We sell at a low

rate of $20 a thousand. I do not believe that any combination can defeat Lincoln."

W. H. Millburn, the blind chaplain of Congress, writing to Mrs. Dyche for her biography, said:

"I suppose your father's influence did more to secure Lincoln's nomination for the presidency than that of any other man."

This is an overemphasis of the facts, which are complex enough to confuse historians even to this day. There are many men who have claimed or have been given credit for Lincoln's first nomination. No effort will be made here to decide that question, but it will be discussed in connection with the events as they occur. The whole story will bear its own seal. Scripps is mentioned here as a contributing factor to Lincoln's nomination, and because he first entered the *Tribune* picture in 1848.

On December 6, 1848, it was announced that the *Tribune* had made arrangements to receive dispatches from O'Reilly's telegraph line and in the future would be able to report the proceedings of Congress and other important news. O'Reilly's telegraph line was a combination stage and wire service, and was a great improvement over waiting to get the papers from other cities via stage-coach travelers.

The *Weekly Tribune* was launched in 1849, and on May 12 of that year the newspaper experienced its first fire. The paper suffered loss of $2,100 which was fortunately covered by insurance. The staff even lost its dictionary but was presented with a new one by the booksellers, Griggs, Bross & Co. Two days later the paper's publication was resumed on the second floor over the grocery store of J. H. Gray at Clark and Randolph Streets. The fire was blamed upon enemies, "political incendiaries." On June 4 following, the paper moved to the northwest corner of Lake and Clark Streets, and a few weeks later appeared in a new dress of type. The editors began to feel that they were making headway, that their capital

of " industry and hope " was beginning to bear fruit. But they also knew that the battle had only begun.

This was the year (1849) that Lincoln returned from Congress to Illinois to practice law on the old Eighth Judicial circuit, a time of preparation for him in political thought, the calm before the storm of 1854. Senator Douglas, whom John Wentworth pictured as the young giant of the West, had just moved to Chicago from Quincy, had bought a large south side acreage, and was riding high in favor at home and in Washington. It looked then as if Lincoln was making no progress; that Douglas was the man of the future.

In May, 1850, the *Tribune* made another move, to the second floor of the Masonic Building, 173 Lake Street. The paper's pages were widened by a column and lengthened to 26 by 40 inches. It began to print the news of hotel arrivals and to boast of its circulation. From July, 1850, to October, 1851, the daily circulation increased from 1,120 to 1,800. The paper was printed on an Adams power press owned by the firm of Wight and Bross, proprietors of the *Herald of the Prairies.*

In July, 1850, on the occasion of the death of President Zachary Taylor, Abraham Lincoln, then in the city trying a law suit, was asked by the citizens to deliver the eulogy. The *Tribune* reported and commended the address highly.

The paper's first annual trade review, child of Scripps' energy, was printed on December 28, 1850. Andreas in his *History of Chicago* presents a facsimile of this paper's first page. Nearly all the four pages were occupied by this review and by small ads. Commerce, real estate, and city improvements were covered carefully. According to the paper there were now six exchange dealers or banks in the city, thirty-two forwarding and commission merchants, fourteen wholesale grocers, fifty lumber dealers, and a large number of drug, hardware, leather, and other merchants. The streets were being planked, 240 miles having been laid during the year. On September 4, 1850, Chicago was lighted by gas for the first time. It had 112 street

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE.

MORNING EDITION.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CITY OF CHICAGO, DECEMBER 28, 1850.

MORNING TRIBUNE

Annual Review of the Trade and Commerce of Chicago for the year 1850.

The year just closing has been characterized neither by any extraordinary degree of prosperity nor by any very great commercial depression. The experience of the past has led to a commendable degree of prudence on the part of our business men. We doubt whether there is another city in the West, of an equal amount of commerce, among whose business men such an few instances of over-banking. If a smaller business be the result, the fact of it being safer one is ample compensation. We do not mean to say there has been nothing of in the aggregate business of the city during the year; on the contrary in many departments there has been a marked increase. While indubitably there exist only confined their operations within the limits of their means, an addition to the number of dealers has resulted in a corresponding augmentation of the aggregate business of the city.

The internal commerce of the City of Chicago is conducted through the agency of six Exchange dealers and Bankers—Thirty two Forwarding and Commission Merchants and Produce dealers—fourteen wholesale Groceries —fifty Lumber dealers—besides a large number of wholesale and retail dealers in dry goods, groceries, hardware, queensware, boots and shoes, harness and leather, drugs, books, wic etc.

The three great sources and avenues of its commerce abound are the Lakes, the Illinois and Michigan Canal, and the Galena and Chicago Railroad.

The following tables, compiled with a great deal of care, will show in what proportion each of these great thoroughfares contributes to swell the tide of our city's commerce. The table for the Lakes and Canal comprehend the period of navigation for the year 1850—that for the Railroad comprises from Dec. 1st 1849 to Dec. 1st, 1850:

Imports by Lake.

Lumber, ft.	18,264,737
Shingles,	34,661,700
Lath,	13,005,750
Square Timber,	1,000
Pickets,	1,000,000
Cedar Posts,	30,000
Hoop Poles,	30,000
Telegraph Poles,	1,000
Cord Wood,	5,000
Staves and Heading,	1,000,000
Hoops,	1,000
Wheat,	1,000,000
Corn,	1,000,000
Oats,	1,000,000
Barley,	1,000,000
Rye,	1,000,000
Flour,	1,000,000
Meal,	1,000,000
Pork,	1,000,000
Beef,	1,000,000
Lard,	1,000,000
Tallow,	1,000,000
Hides,	1,000,000
Furs and Skins,	1,000,000
Wool,	1,000,000
Feathers,	1,000,000
Whiskey,	1,000,000
Alcohol,	1,000,000
Wine,	1,000,000
Beer,	1,000,000
Cider,	1,000,000
Vinegar,	1,000,000
Coal,	1,000,000
Iron,	1,000,000
Steel,	1,000,000
Copper,	1,000,000
Tin,	1,000,000
Lead,	1,000,000
Zinc,	1,000,000
Brass,	1,000,000
Bronze,	1,000,000
Gold,	1,000,000
Silver,	1,000,000
Platinum,	1,000,000
Diamonds,	1,000,000
Rubies,	1,000,000
Sapphires,	1,000,000
Emeralds,	1,000,000
Opals,	1,000,000
Pearls,	1,000,000
Coral,	1,000,000
Ivory,	1,000,000
Bone,	1,000,000
Horn,	1,000,000
Tortoise Shell,	1,000,000
Mother of Pearl,	1,000,000
Amber,	1,000,000
Jet,	1,000,000
Onyx,	1,000,000
Agate,	1,000,000
Carnelian,	1,000,000
Chrysoprase,	1,000,000
Heliotrope,	1,000,000
Jasper,	1,000,000
Lapis Lazuli,	1,000,000
Malachite,	1,000,000
Obsidian,	1,000,000
Porphyry,	1,000,000
Quartz,	1,000,000
Rock Crystal,	1,000,000
Sandstone,	1,000,000
Slate,	1,000,000
Soapstone,	1,000,000
Talc,	1,000,000
Tripoli,	1,000,000
Umber,	1,000,000
Whetstone,	1,000,000
Zinc White,	1,000,000
Zinc Yellow,	1,000,000
Zinc Green,	1,000,000
Zinc Blue,	1,000,000
Zinc Red,	1,000,000
Zinc Brown,	1,000,000
Zinc Black,	1,000,000
Zinc Gray,	1,000,000
Zinc Purple,	1,000,000
Zinc Orange,	1,000,000
Zinc Pink,	1,000,000
Zinc Violet,	1,000,000
Zinc Indigo,	1,000,000
Zinc Ultramarine,	1,000,000
Zinc Cobalt,	1,000,000
Zinc Cerulean,	1,000,000
Zinc Emerald,	1,000,000
Zinc Chrome,	1,000,000
Zinc Vermilion,	1,000,000
Zinc Carmine,	1,000,000
Zinc Crimson,	1,000,000
Zinc Scarlet,	1,000,000
Zinc Rose,	1,000,000
Zinc Pink,	1,000,000
Zinc Violet,	1,000,000
Zinc Indigo,	1,000,000
Zinc Ultramarine,	1,000,000
Zinc Cobalt,	1,000,000
Zinc Cerulean,	1,000,000
Zinc Emerald,	1,000,000
Zinc Chrome,	1,000,000
Zinc Vermilion,	1,000,000
Zinc Carmine,	1,000,000
Zinc Crimson,	1,000,000
Zinc Scarlet,	1,000,000
Zinc Rose,	1,000,000

Received by Railroad.

Lumber, ft.	8,261,210
Shingles,	3,204,100
Lath,	1,200,000
Posts,	1,000,000
Pickets,	1,000,000
Cedar Posts,	1,000,000
Hoop Poles,	1,000,000
Telegraph Poles,	1,000,000
Cord Wood,	1,000,000
Staves and Heading,	1,000,000
Hoops,	1,000,000
Wheat,	1,000,000
Corn,	1,000,000
Oats,	1,000,000
Barley,	1,000,000
Rye,	1,000,000
Flour,	1,000,000
Meal,	1,000,000
Pork,	1,000,000
Beef,	1,000,000
Lard,	1,000,000
Tallow,	1,000,000
Hides,	1,000,000
Furs and Skins,	1,000,000
Wool,	1,000,000
Feathers,	1,000,000
Whiskey,	1,000,000
Alcohol,	1,000,000
Wine,	1,000,000
Beer,	1,000,000
Cider,	1,000,000
Vinegar,	1,000,000
Coal,	1,000,000
Iron,	1,000,000
Steel,	1,000,000
Copper,	1,000,000
Tin,	1,000,000
Lead,	1,000,000
Zinc,	1,000,000
Brass,	1,000,000
Bronze,	1,000,000
Gold,	1,000,000
Silver,	1,000,000
Platinum,	1,000,000
Diamonds,	1,000,000
Rubies,	1,000,000
Sapphires,	1,000,000
Emeralds,	1,000,000
Opals,	1,000,000
Pearls,	1,000,000
Coral,	1,000,000
Ivory,	1,000,000
Bone,	1,000,000
Horn,	1,000,000
Tortoise Shell,	1,000,000
Mother of Pearl,	1,000,000
Amber,	1,000,000
Jet,	1,000,000
Onyx,	1,000,000
Agate,	1,000,000
Carnelian,	1,000,000
Chrysoprase,	1,000,000
Heliotrope,	1,000,000
Jasper,	1,000,000
Lapis Lazuli,	1,000,000
Malachite,	1,000,000
Obsidian,	1,000,000
Porphyry,	1,000,000
Quartz,	1,000,000
Rock Crystal,	1,000,000
Sandstone,	1,000,000
Slate,	1,000,000
Soapstone,	1,000,000
Talc,	1,000,000
Tripoli,	1,000,000
Umber,	1,000,000
Whetstone,	1,000,000
Zinc White,	1,000,000
Zinc Yellow,	1,000,000
Zinc Green,	1,000,000
Zinc Blue,	1,000,000
Zinc Red,	1,000,000
Zinc Brown,	1,000,000
Zinc Black,	1,000,000
Zinc Gray,	1,000,000
Zinc Purple,	1,000,000
Zinc Orange,	1,000,000
Zinc Pink,	1,000,000
Zinc Violet,	1,000,000
Zinc Indigo,	1,000,000
Zinc Ultramarine,	1,000,000
Zinc Cobalt,	1,000,000
Zinc Cerulean,	1,000,000
Zinc Emerald,	1,000,000
Zinc Chrome,	1,000,000
Zinc Vermilion,	1,000,000
Zinc Carmine,	1,000,000
Zinc Crimson,	1,000,000
Zinc Scarlet,	1,000,000
Zinc Rose,	1,000,000

The tables for the Canal and Railroad are believed to be strictly correct, exhibiting neither more nor less than the actual business transactions over each. The table of Lake Commerce, with the exception of Lumber, Grain, Flour and Wool, which we compiled directly from the books of the dealers and shippers, is far from being accurate, and we

[illegible] of the purpose of actual imports and exports as we were able to procure. These figures, with the foregoing exception, were obtained from the books of the Collector of this port. We have repeatedly had occasion to express our regret, that, owing to the carelessness and culpable negligence of masters of vessels, no entry is made of a large portion both of the goods received and forwarded from this port. A most striking proof that there has been no reform in this matter is to be found in the fact that the registered clearances from this port for the year 1850 were 1,006, and the registered arrivals during the same time 1 668. The state of the books indicates the presence, in our port, of 662 vessels more than wintered here last year. The fact, however, is, there are 28 less. This much was necessary to be said, to place our readers right as to what reliance should be placed in the table of Lake Commerce. In some instances the figures are full 25 per cent. below the actual imports and exports; in others, they are not 25 per cent. of the actual amount. Take, for example, among the imports, the articles of Sugar and Molasses. According to our table, above, there were 75 bbls. of the former, and 95 bbls. of the latter. On inquiry, we found that a single house in this city had received during the season, via the Lakes, 485 bbls. of Sugar and 300 bbls of Molasses! Doubtless a similar discrepancy exists in other articles.

The Grain and Flour Trade of the city exhibits a considerable decrease from that of 1849. An anomaly occurred in this trade during the year. Heretofore our alimentic market had always been reached by way of the Lakes. The Wheat crop of 1849 was generally light throughout the entire West. Especially was this the fact in those regions of country from whence St. Louis had always obtained her supply. On the opening of navigation in the spring of 1850, that city found herself short of her usual stock, and prices at once commenced going up. The fact soon became apparent that there was not sufficient surplus in the country on which she depended, to make up the deficiency, and dealers there turned their attention to Chicago, as the only source of supply.

The canal opened 15th March, and during the remainder of that month, 4,912 bushels wheat, and 3,310 barrels flour were shipped from this place to St. Louis. In April, 6,000 barrels flour, and 20,000 bushels wheat were shipped to the same place, and up to the 15th of July, some 34,430 barrels of flour, and 68,-193 bushels wheat—not counting the flour or wheat, 207,366 bushels had been taken from the warehouses of this city and placed upon the levee at St. Louis. At the dates mentioned above, the new crop of wheat commenced coming in upon us from the St. Louis market, and shipments from this place to that direction were suspended.

During the period of [illegible] St. Louis, a great deal of speculation having existed in the principal markets on the south, the short crop of Ohio, one of the principal sources of supply to those markets, added to the unprecedented fact of large shipments of breadstuff from the lakes to the Mississippi, led to an apprehension that there was a serious competition between eastern and St. Louis operators.

The following shipments by the lower lakes, made at the time of those to St. Louis, will show how near an approach was made to an equilibrium of prices between the eastern and southern markets. In April, 61,985 bushels wheat, 3,299 barrels flour; May, 120,984 bushels wheat, 3,721 barrels flour; June, 74,-065 bushels wheat, 8,501 barrels flour; July, 33,414 bushels wheat, 3,633 barrels flour; August, (a reaction had then taken place,) 1,083 bushels wheat, 480 barrels flour. It is proper to remark that a considerable proportion of the above shipments had passed into the hands of owners at Chicago, and Buffalo, prior to the advent of St. Louis dealers in this market.

The market for wheat opened here on 3rd inst. to 45 at 50 a 52½ per spring, and 70 a 85 for white. By the first of April large lots of spring were changing hands at 75 a 76 cents. Prices continued advancing, with now and then slight fluctuations. On the 13th May, spring was firm at 90, and white at 110. At the same time flour ranged at $3 75 to $6 00, from inferior country inspection brands to June the enlightening point was reached at 100 a 105 [illegible] and Dutch gave indications both of an early and abundant harvest. Stocks were computed at St. Louis, and found to be large enough to supply the demand until first receipts of the new crop. Our market was simultaneously deserted by southern and eastern buyers. Prices fell down more rapidly than they had gone up, and some of our dealers, who had held on to their stocks for days longer than they should, found their expectations of handsome [illegible] suddenly vanishing.

The first wheat of the new crop reached our market on the 20th of July. At that date spring was worth $1.05, and white 63@70. Since then prices have fluctuated from 38@45 for spring, and 60@65 for winter, to 60@65 for spring, and 70@73 for winter—extreme lots for milling being higher. At the present time 47@50 for spring, and 63@70 for winter, are ruling rates.

Corn, in the early part of the season, came forward freely by canal, during which time prices ranged in the market at 43@50—Since then, however, an advance in the Southern market turned it in that direction, and the entire receipts of corn by canal the present year are scarcely more than a third of what they were in 1849.

Oats, early in the season, were shipped from this port to St. Louis, and of course, when prices there were such as to justify shipments from here, our receipts from canal were merely nominal. Later in the season the price advanced here, and the amount which came forward by canal was nearly equal to that of last year.

The following figures will show the entire receipts and shipments of Corn and Flour from Dec 1st, 1849, to Dec. 1st, 1850

	Receipts	Shipments
Wheat, bu	1,241,19	1[illegible]
Corn,	2[illegible]	[illegible]
Oats,	2[illegible]	[illegible]
Barley,	[illegible]	[illegible]
Rye,	[illegible]	[illegible]
Flour, bbls	[illegible]	[illegible]

The above figures are accurate, with the exception of an item of them as comprising some six hundred. We have made an earnest and continued effort through the whole year to keep an account of the quantity reaching the city by this means. Our ordinarily laborious, we have, now and then, found to get an account of every wagon load, and the will to account for any seeming discrepancy between receipts and shipments, when the consumption of the city is taken into account.

The shipments of Grain and Flour the present year, compared with those of 1849, are as follows:

	1850.	1849.
Wheat, bu	1,[illegible]	[illegible]
Corn,	[illegible]	[illegible]
Oats,	[illegible]	[illegible]
Flour, bbls	[illegible]	[illegible]

Reducing the flour of each year to wheat the shipments of 1849, amounted to 2,192,209 bushels of 1850 to 1,278,0[illegible]—making the excess of shipments in 1849 over those of 1850, 914,209 bu.

The falling off has been produced by several causes. In the first place a much larger proportion of the crop of 1849 [illegible] were sold before the close of navigation of that year, than was of the crop of 1849. In the next place the extraordinary rate of the New York Market prior to harvest produced shipments from canal and river ports. This place and a northern had taken place here. What we have learned from the latter was mostly during the months of September and October. Comparatively little prices have obtained during the whole of the fall in St. Louis, diverting from us the side of the river. The following table will show the receipts by canal and river for 1849 and 1850:

	1849	1850
Wheat, bu	2[illegible]	[illegible]
Corn,	[illegible]	[illegible]
Oats,	[illegible]	[illegible]
Flour, bbls	[illegible]	[illegible]

It will be seen that there was a very large falling off in corn and wheat, and a small increase in flour and oats. Another cause of the falling off is to be found in the fact that a crop of 1850 was very materially injured by the bug, before harvest, resulting in a loss perhaps one fourth of the crop in the eastern portion of the State. But I am free to say, in the fact that a partial injury to the wheat crop for several years, one-year to year, tended to discourage that branch of agricultural industry, and a smaller breadth as now than would otherwise have been the case. Whether this fact is permanently operative such an effect, by directing attention to other pursuits, is a matter of considerable interest, and future years, [illegible] by on the 15th inst., was as follows:

	Flour	Wheat	Oats	Corn
On hand for sale	3,[illegible]	21,[illegible]	11,[illegible]	[illegible]
Sold by last [illegible]	5,[illegible]	3,[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Other articles of produce do not exhibit very great differences from last year's business, as will be seen by the annexed comparative tables of shipments by Lake and, receipts by Railroad and Canal, of certain articles:

Shipments by Lake.

	1849.	1850.
Pork, bbls	17,[illegible]	[illegible]
Beef,	[illegible]	[illegible]
Hides,	[illegible]	[illegible]
Lard,	[illegible]	[illegible]
Tallow,	[illegible]	[illegible]
Furs,	[illegible]	[illegible]
Wool,	[illegible]	[illegible]

Hon—The shipments of hides and lard for 1850, are for both bbls and boxes.

Receipts by Canal.

	1849.	1850.
Pork, bbls	3,[illegible]	[illegible]
Beef,	[illegible]	[illegible]
Hides,	[illegible]	[illegible]
Lard,	[illegible]	[illegible]
Tallow,	[illegible]	[illegible]
Furs,	[illegible]	[illegible]
Wool,	[illegible]	[illegible]

Receipts by Railroad.

	1849.	1850.
Wheat, bu	17[illegible]	[illegible]
Flour bbls	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pork,	[illegible]	[illegible]
Beef,	[illegible]	[illegible]
Hides,	[illegible]	[illegible]
Lard,	[illegible]	[illegible]
Tallow,	[illegible]	[illegible]

Wool.—Our figures show a material increase in the arrivals and shipments of wool over those of 1849. Prices ruled high during the whole season, and we presume the entire crop in first hands was drawn out. Manufacturing companies at the east adopted the policy of sending out agents, who traversed every country in every direction, and who could afford to pay better prices than those purchasers to buy again. This is an important factor in this trade. Depending as it does with middle men, it serves to the producer better than otherwise there is to the consumptions. The shipments of wool by Lake in 1849 amounted to 320,272 lbs.—in 1850 to 913,[illegible] being an increase of 593,000 lbs.

The Manufacturing Premises has been extensively engaged during the year as never before in Chicago. There have been twelve city that slaughtered half the number of cattle Chicago does. Some twelve or ten in order to entire, at length the branch of our business, to which the market is referred. The whole number of cattle slaughtered was 27,[illegible], and the amount of capital invested about three fourths of a million of dollars. In addition to the above about 30,000 sheep have been slaughtered within a month or two. The hams are cured—the entire hides of the carcass is rendered into tallow. The season for slaughtering and packing hogs is in progress. It is too early yet to hazard an opinion as to what the extent of the business will be. It is highly probable that the present high prices will bring out a larger quantity than has been anticipated.

The Grocery Business of the year, as our tables will conclusively show, by the exceeds that of 1849. The same may be said of the dry goods, hardware, and the various other departments of trade.

By an extension made by the canal, in the latter part of August, previously at the time when shipments from the east were heavy made for the fall business, the receiving and forwarding business and the shipping interest of both Lake and Canal, were materially injured. Heavy stocks of goods, originally intended to be shipped via the Lakes and Illinois and Michigan Canal, were ordered by another route, and the diversion of a number of cargoes changed in transit. Notwithstanding this drawback, however, our tables show a small increase this year over the amount of goods shipped by canal in '49—the former being $[illegible],357 lbs—the latter $ 3[illegible]. The same causes also very materially affected the amount of receipts by canal.

The Salt Trade of the year compared with that of the last exhibits the following results:

Barrels	1849.	1850.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Receipts by Canal.

[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]

These tables show a very remarkable falling off in the amount received the present year. The decrease is greater than it either else would have been in consequence of a series of desultory which befel remote freight. The 15th salt destined for this port, very late in the season. The fish tower Columbia was wrecked with 1200 bbls. Rochester Northwestern wrecked with 1000 bbls. The Joe Ward with 2000 bbls. Filled to get further when [illegible] the above also was received over [illegible] A fourth vessel with 1000 bbls. was frozen in at Milwaukee. The consequence of all of which is the stock on hand does not exceed 300 bbls and prices have reached the astonishing height of $4 per bbl.

The Coal Trade—of 1850 compared with 1849, shows as follows:

	1849	1850
Received by Lake, tons	[illegible]	[illegible]
" Canal, "	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total,	[illegible]	[illegible]

Which shows a falling off of 1,[illegible] tons, the present year. The present supply will be short of the wants for city consumption during the winter—while stock in the hands of dealers, on the 15th inst. being only 2,102 tons. Prices are high, but are kept somewhat within bounds by the quantity of wood daily in the market.

The Lumber Trade has become one of the great features of the commerce of Chicago. The following tables exhibit very briefly the operations in this department for the present year, contrasted with that of 1849

Receipts.

	1849.	1850.
Lumber, ft	[illegible]	[illegible]
Shingles,	[illegible]	[illegible]
Lath,	[illegible]	[illegible]

Lumber Trade during the year.

Lumber by Canal.

Lumber, ft	[illegible]
Shingles,	[illegible]
Lath,	[illegible]

Lumber by Lake.

Lumber, ft	[illegible]
Shingles,	[illegible]
Lath,	[illegible]

Lumber by Railroad.

Lumber, ft	[illegible]
Shingles,	[illegible]
Lath,	[illegible]

The following are the statistics of the Lumber trade—with the points on the Canal and the Illinois river.

On points by Canal.

	1849.	1850.
Lumber, ft	[illegible]	[illegible]
Shingles,	[illegible]	[illegible]
Lath,	[illegible]	[illegible]

Lumber Trade during the year.

Lumber by Canal.

Lumber, ft	[illegible]
Shingles,	[illegible]
Lath,	[illegible]

Lumber by Lake.

Lumber, ft	[illegible]
Shingles,	[illegible]
Lath,	[illegible]

Lumber by Railroad.

Lumber, ft	[illegible]
Shingles,	[illegible]
Lath,	[illegible]

This is one of the few issues of the early Tribune *saved from the fire of 1871. It is in the possession of the Chicago Historical Society.*

and bridge lamps. European news as published was a month or more old, fresh from some steamship just arrived in New York.

In July, 1851, Mr. Wheeler disposed of his interest in the *Tribune* to Thomas J. Waite, who became business manager. Wheeler went to New York, where he died a few years later. Waite, who was only twenty-two years old, died on August 26, 1852, of cholera, and his interest was bought from his estate by Henry Fowler, who later became a Presbyterian minister in Auburn, New York. An evening edition of the paper was printed for a few months in 1850–51.

Chapter Four

THE SLAVERY ISSUE

NEWSPAPERS in the early days of Chicago, as in other parts of the country, were marked primarily by their political affiliations. They were party or personal organs and were only beginning to be NEWSpapers.

The breakup of the old political parties began to be manifest in 1848. Many Whigs were leaving that party to join the Free Soil group (Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, Free Men). Perhaps it was the first time anyone had heard of the "Four Freedoms." Van Buren was the Free Soil candidate. The abolitionists had started the Native American or Know-Nothing movement, nominating John P. Hale for president.

The *Tribune* and the *Journal*, accusing each other, disputed in 1849 over which paper had supported slavery. Both papers were to become Republican. The *Times* had been started as

the organ of Senator Stephen A. Douglas, and was so regarded all during the pre-war years. The *Democrat* under Wentworth's direction was also one of the first to raise the Republican banner, but the *Tribune* and the *Journal* insisted that this was mere opportunism, that its only principle was to further the political ambitions of "Long John." The newspapers warred with each other in hearty fashion, and were personal and highly vituperative.

Mr. Forrest, in his brief career as editor, had opposed slavery and had seen and felt the rising tide against it. He was not, however, an abolitionist, which meant extreme radicalism in those days. He looked to Whig support for his paper. This moderate policy was one to which the *Tribune* returned, and on which it settled after the launching of the Republican party. The greatest Whig to come into the party was Lincoln on May 29, 1856.

Slavery had been a steadily mounting national issue for the last decade, with the abolitionists becoming so radical that they proposed disunion as one way out. The British, who had been blamed for permitting slavery in the colonies and for its subsequent growth, had in the meantime abolished this traffic in human beings in the West Indies, and British speakers were fomenting the issue in this country, taking the abolition side. It was suggested at a later period that the British were seeking to break up the United States; that its ruling classes had always been the enemies of this Republic. The *Tribune* agreed with this, but thought that the common people of England were with the people of this country in ideals, a view which was to be borne out by the development of the Civil War.

The great issue had been settled, it was thought, by the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which provided, after the admission of Missouri as a slave state, that slavery should never be extended north of 36 degrees, 30 minutes latitude. New territory added by the Louisiana Purchase and the Mexican War, however, led the Southern slave-owner politicians to covet the

extension of territory, and since they controlled policies in Washington they kept up a steady agitation to this end. They also wanted to annex Cuba and to make it a slave territory. The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, instead of stopping the agitation, only added fuel to the fire of the Northern radicals. The time was at hand for a test of power over the extension of slavery to the territories, and it was this issue that the struggling *Tribune* had to meet as a newspaper. Upon its decision and action in this crisis it would rise or fall.

The Fowler regime of the *Tribune* is interesting from this standpoint. It was the test, the feeling-out, of this newspaper on this issue.

Two national figures were on the horizon, Senator Douglas of Illinois and Senator Jefferson Davis of Mississippi. Disunion was in sight through adoption of either radical way. The *Tribune* at first took a middle course which proved to be a practical course for it gradually absorbed the radical sentiment without driving away the conservatives.

Chapter Five

IN THE EARLY '50's

In these middle years of the nineteenth century a period of slow but steady expansion began for the *Tribune*. Its changes in political principles at this time may have had something to do with its expansion, but the newspaper itself began to improve and offered more features.

Arthur C. Cole in his *Era of the Civil War* states that the *Tribune* left the Free Soil group on May 29, 1850, and remarks

that antislavery was regarded at that time as inconsistent with Union loyalty. For a time the paper looked with favor on the Know-Nothings and then it became Republican and remained so.

In 1851 the paper was five columns in width; in 1852, seven columns; and later that year, when Fowler took charge, with Henry Duane Wilson as political editor and Stewart as local and commercial editor, it went to nine columns and began to boast of being the largest paper in Illinois. Mr. Scripps had sold his interest to the Whigs, represented by Wilson, in June, 1852.

More correspondence began to be printed under fancy pen names and on December 13, 1852, a " home department " was established, " edited by a lady," name unknown. She began to write about wash houses for the poor and mud versus ladies in Chicago's streets. The mud squirted through the planks upon the ladies' dresses, it appears, and much was to be desired in the way of municipal cleanliness.

In the same year the *Tribune* added a new press room with a Hoe cylinder and an Adams press and proudly " invited the ladies in " to inspect it. Its home was now in the Evans Block on Clark Street opposite the Sherman House. Another " telegraph service " was added.

The paper of that period stood for a tariff, according to Whig principles. This may seem unimportant in view of the greater issue of slavery, but the question of the tariff was to become of increasing political importance. In 1860 it was Lincoln's stand on the protective tariff that endeared him to the Republicans of Pennsylvania, rather than his slavery views. And, incidentally, the vote of that state was necessary to his nomination and election.

Early in 1853 the *Tribune* began a crusade against wildcat currency which was then widely circulated. The paper particularly opposed the currency issue of George Smith and Company, the bankers, and found itself in an acrimonious fight

with the *Commercial Advertiser*, edited by Alfred Dutch. Dutch said that the *Tribune* had been bought by opposition bankers and the *Tribune* sued him for libel, its first recorded case in the courts.

Possibly as a result of this fight, persons entered the *Tribune* office on January 12, 1853, and knocked some of the forms into "pi." This was a serious setback and delayed the paper's issue. A reward of one hundred dollars was offered for their apprehension and the *Tribune* called on all good citizens to resent this interference with a free press pursuing "an honorable and manly course." A group of citizens wrote a letter of sympathy to the *Tribune* editors and sent an additional reward of one hundred dollars. It is interesting to note that among the signers of this letter were Edwin L. Larned, A. S. Sherman, Isaac N. Arnold, and Joseph T. Ryerson, leaders in Chicago life in those days.

On March 23, 1853, Mr. Wilson retired from the *Tribune*, selling his interest to Henry Fowler & Co. The money was supplied by Timothy Wright and General (then Captain) J. D. Webster, later chief of staff to General W. T. Sherman. These men became silent partners in the *Tribune*.

City Editor Stewart, in the autumn of 1853, was challenged to a duel by Captain Bigelow of the United States Steamer *Michigan*, who had been criticized for allowing his vessel to be used as a pleasure yacht by the Pope's nuncio, Cardinal Bendini, then on a semiofficial tour of this country. Stewart declined to shoot the captain or be shot by him, but said that the captain could meet him on the street if he wanted to, that he would not avoid him, and that he had never been whipped and never expected to be.

It was the custom of newspapers of that day to present a yearly prospectus of their "wares," including their political beliefs, so that people would know just what brand of news and views they were reading. In the winter of 1852–53 the *Tribune* announced that it would offer eight departments to

its readers, including letters from correspondents in Great Britain, France, and Italy. The paper was for Whig principles and the tariff. It stood for republicanism as the best system of government, Christianity as the "best regenerator," and "faith in the West as the great arena." There was little attention in its columns to the slavery issue at that time, but much space was devoted to churches, and to the temperance movement which was growing apace with the passage of the Maine prohibition law. The editors stated proudly that proceedings of the City Council would be printed a day in advance of the official journal. On January 14 the paper announced that the editor of the *Democrat*, "Long John" Wentworth, had left home for a few days and commented, "The wicked fleeth where no man pursueth."

A tri-weekly *Tribune* was started in February, 1853, for country customers at a subscription rate of $4 a year. The paper at that time took a stand against the "Black Law" of Illinois, a bill passed by the proslavery legislature which permitted escaped slaves in Illinois to be resold into slavery. While Illinois was a free state under the terms of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, its southern sections were settled by slave owners and sympathizers. The state was divided politically on this issue even during the war.

The *Tribune* noted in these spring days of 1853 that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was making headway among readers, and it looked with some disfavor on the passions that were being aroused by that story. Editor Fowler went to New York in March to write reports on the sermons of Henry Ward Beecher. He sent back a two-column laudatory article on the preacher who was stirring New York. Fowler's own strict views may be gathered from a comment made that spring as follows:

"On the last Lord's day the cars of the Chicago and Rock Island made a trip to La Salle and back. This is a profanation of the Sabbath on the part of the manager of this road and

seems more wanton and inexcusable as there was no real necessity for it."

At that time the *Tribune* supported the Maine anti-liquor law and urged its extension to Illinois, advocated a railroad to the Pacific and a tunnel under the Chicago River. It printed serially stories by Charles Dickens. On March 21 it published a five-column speech on foreign policy by Edward Everett, and in the same issue called the views of Senator Douglas narrow and selfish. It rapped Douglas for doing nothing about the Chicago route to the Pacific. The *Democratic Press* defended Douglas and it was noted that the editor of the *Press*, William Bross, who was also an alderman, had secured the public printing job. As this was a juicy item for any newspaper of that time a feud began with Bross and the *Press* which was carried on almost to the time of the consolidation with the *Tribune* in 1858.

In the months of Fowler's control (1853–54) the first page of the paper was still given over to advertisements as in other Chicago papers, save, perhaps, for a poem or a fiction feature. The *Tribune* stood strongly for temperance and "the kingdom of God on earth." Women were told that their place was in the home, not in political or commercial fields. The editor mourned over the good old days before the election of Andrew Jackson. The local news often emphasized the announcement of sermon subjects. It pointed to the "dangers of Romanism." It continued to advocate the passage of the Maine liquor law. On the slavery issue it looked toward just and peaceful emancipation, pointing out that "revolutions never go backwards." It was against the "fanaticism" of the abolitionists.

It was during this period that the *Tribune* by its stiff-necked policies alienated many of its readers, and the subscription list was almost entirely changed. Its character was upright but too negative and narrow to suit the growing cosmopolitan population. Many called it bigoted.

In July of 1854 Mr. Fowler retired because of ill health, and Mr. Stewart became editor. He was lively and forceful, a man of strong antislavery views and he proved a sound link in the chain of character which was developing into the *Tribune*. Within three months the type of readers had again greatly changed.

"Experience proved," Stewart commented years later, "that while it is much easier to lessen than to increase the number of readers and supporters of a paper, the public will properly appreciate and sustain a journal that is independent in tone, bold as an advocate of liberty, and a conservator of public morality."

It was recorded in the paper's columns that its circulation had increased over 1,200 copies as a result of this change from the Fowler to the Stewart regime.

Chapter Six

A POLITICAL REVOLUTION

In 1854 a political revolution was in progress in the North although it was not at once apparent. It was caused by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill under the sponsorship of Senator Douglas, a bill that repealed the almost sacred Missouri Compromise and provided that the question of whether the territories should be slave or free should be left to the vote of the people of the territories. It was the principle of local or squatter sovereignty, which had some measure of freedom and democracy in it but which became at once politically infamous in the North. It was provided in the bill that the first

test of the slavery issue should be made at once at Kansas.

This bill, which was debated for months in Congress, completed the new party alignments, breaking the Whigs forever and splitting the Democrats so that the election of Lincoln was made possible.

" Anti-Nebraska " became the watchword for new political groups in both parties. It aroused Joseph Medill to action in Ohio, leading him to start an agitation for organization of the Republican party. It led Lincoln to shake off his political apathy, awakening, as Herndon said, the " sleeping lion " in him. It stirred the nation to its depths. Of special interest for this history of the *Tribune*, it led Dr. Charles H. Ray, editor of the *Galena Jeffersonian*, to forsake his Democratic friends and seek a new field of journalistic effort which would be against the spread of slavery. It gave strength to the abolition movement, a strength, however, that did not center among the outright abolitionists but in the infant Republican party.

The *Tribune* in March of 1854 printed a speech of Senator William H. Seward of New York in opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.

" Can we see the end? " said the *Tribune*. " We love the South but we love the North more. Between slavery and liberty we cannot hesitate. If we must choose, we choose where humanity stands upright and free."

" The Nebraska Bill," the paper commented, " opens a great highway for the onward march of slavery. We will give no quarter to traitors, but follow to his political grave every man who betrays freedom."

This was a plain notice to Senator Douglas, a notice which the *Tribune* under its subsequent control carried out to the letter. That same spring of '54 the paper declared its opposition to the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law and suggested that free men colonize Kansas to save that state from slavery. " Rum, Slavery and Democracy " were linked together in its spring campaign for the Maine-law candidate for mayor who

was badly defeated. The paper took this defeat philosophically and failed to see that in its narrow views on racial and personal liberty questions it was defeating its greater objectives. The *Galena Jeffersonian* scolded the *Tribune* of this period for its "insane" attacks on the Irish and on Catholics. The *Democratic Press* scolded it for speaking harshly of the Irish, for its reference to "whiskey drinking, gambling, ignorant, Irish Democrats."

The *Tribune* admitted these charges of harsh speaking and said it would continue to scold whenever it considered scolding a duty. This was all in the year before the Medill-Ray regime.

Even Abraham Lincoln said later (1855) that he did not like the *Tribune* of this period; it was too much "Know-Nothing" for his taste. Its narrowness which would have led to the paper's ultimate failure had that course not been abandoned with the coming of Mr. Medill and Dr. Ray as editors a year later. Chicago could no longer be regarded as the exclusive home of Protestant New Englanders. The refugees from European revolutions had crowded in here for the building of a new country. The Irish came to build the canals and the railroads. The Germans of 1848 came in droves, seeking a home of liberty. They brought a liberalism in personal conduct which the puritanical *Tribune* editors of the time did not appreciate. This situation was of major importance politically. How were these people to vote? The *Tribune's* newspaper rivals, the *Democrat* and the *Times*, capitalized on the situation, but it was not until Mr. Medill and Dr. Ray came into control of the paper's policies that a strong effort was made to get the Germans, particularly, into the new Republican party. And it was the German and "foreign vote," according to William E. Dodd, the historian, that in 1860 turned the Illinois vote into the Lincoln column. Thus another element enters into Lincoln's nomination and election. It is an indication of the political complexity of the situation.

Senator Douglas' fathering of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill caused such a storm against him in the North that he came home in September of 1854 to hold a series of fence-building and " vindication " meetings. The first of these was called to meet in North Market Hall in Chicago. The *Tribune* had taken a leading part in arousing sentiment against the senator and its report of the meeting was highly colored.

" Groans for Douglas – Cheers for the *Tribune*," it said in headlines. The only friends of Douglas present, the *Tribune* said, were members of his bodyguard and the Irish " who were paid 25 cents each to attend." One of the men who greeted Douglas and stood on the platform with him was Thomas Hoyne. The church bells tolled when Douglas entered the city and he was burned in effigy not only in Chicago but in other cities along the route west.

Douglas denounced the assemblage in the hall, which yelled and hissed and would not let him speak. He called it a mob and declared " the tone of it was produced and regulated by the influence of that organ of the Whig and Free Soil parties, the *Chicago Tribune*."

The *Tribune*, proud to be recognized as a powerful organ of opposition, reported this and said:

" He laid the result of the meeting at our door, where we are very well content to have it lie."

Douglas left the platform, it was said, shaking his fist at the people.

" All his allusions to the *Tribune* were received by groans and always followed by cheers for the paper.

" The effect of this meeting can hardly be calculated," said the *Tribune*. " It will rescue Illinois for freedom and as Illinois goes this fall so goes the nation. Chicago has triumphed and Douglas is laid low."

It was not as easy as this, however, to dispose of the " Little Giant." It was to take six years more of the hardest kind of campaigning and the wisest political planning, for which the

chief credit as well as the responsibility must go to Lincoln, for this was the period when the issue of peace or war was being created.

The *Tribune* felt so good that fall, however, that it taunted the *Democratic Press*, its neighbors and competitors, Scripps and Bross, and invited "our timid and cautious friends" to "come out from among that foul party [Democrat] and take a stand with us for the Republican platform." The Republican party had been formally launched under the Jackson, Michigan, oaks that summer, with a platform and a creed that was forming just the center of attraction that was needed.

A meeting was called for September 20, 1854, at Aurora of "all citizens opposed to the extension of slavery and who are willing to disregard old party distinctions to make common cause to secure free territory for free men." This was to select delegates to a state convention to be held in Springfield in October.

The weekly *Tribune* sent out many extra copies of its report of the Douglas "vindication meeting." It called upon the *Galena Jeffersonian* and the *Democratic Press* in Chicago to "come up to the work at once and join us in the struggle against pro-slavery domination."

Editor Stewart did not know at the moment how literally this call was to be answered, for it was only a few months before Dr. Ray of the *Jeffersonian* and Mr. Medill of the *Cleveland Leader* were to step into control of the *Tribune;* and three years later, Bross and Scripps of the *Democratic Press* were to join forces in the great early period of the *Tribune's* history.

Stewart, however, led the way. He played up the Aurora convention in a full-page story.

"The only safety for the cause of freedom," the *Tribune* said in September, "lies in abandonment of old party distinctions and the enlisting of every lover of freedom in the ranks of the Republican party."

At that moment Editor Medill was preaching the same thing in Ohio.

Senator Douglas tried to hold another meeting in Chicago in September to have resolutions passed endorsing his policies.

"Citizens and sailors turn out," the *Tribune* urged. "You can prevent it and you will do it." The meeting proved a blow to Douglas and he then abandoned his Chicago efforts and began a downstate tour.

Albert J. Beveridge in his biography of Lincoln (Vol. 3, pages 232–3) writes of the Douglas meeting in Chicago. "At dusk church bells began to toll all over the city. . . . It was one of the hottest nights Chicago had ever experienced. . . . Eight thousand excited people, nearly all of them men, densely packed the space before the speaker's stand. . . . Ominous silence greeted Douglas when he began to speak; but after a few sentences a 'storm of hisses arose.' . . . His friends in the crowd were so angered that they wanted to fight. Douglas restrained them. . . . In high temper he denounced the *Tribune* for having caused the disturbance – cheers for that paper were the response."

Beveridge clipped from the *Washington Sentinel* the following quoted from the *Tribune* (still under Stewart's control) of September 1, 1854:

"If he [Douglas] attempts to get up what he calls a vindication of his crimes; if he collects around him a crowd of Irish rowdies and groghouse politicians, and attempts to send forth their approbation as the 'voice of the people of Chicago,' it will not be our fault if he arouses a lion which he cannot tame."

Lincoln now began to neglect his law practice to enter the political arena which he had left in 1849. He undertook to trail Douglas and answer his arguments on the stump. It was the beginning of a contest which was to reach a climax in 1858, with the defeat of Lincoln for the office he coveted, the senatorship,

but which laid the foundations for his nomination to the presidency. Thus Senator Douglas becomes another factor in the nomination of Lincoln, the dramatic foil, the shining target against which Lincoln was to hurl his thunderbolts.

"Slavery," said Lincoln at Peoria on October 16, 1854, in reply to an address there by Douglas, "is founded on the selfishness of man's nature — opposition to it in his love of justice. These principles are an eternal antagonism, and when brought into collision so fiercely as slavery extension brings them, shocks and throes and convulsions must ceaselessly follow."

The *Tribune* at this time seems to have awakened to Lincoln's strength, for commenting on this speech it said:

> It would be impossible in these limits to give an idea of the strength of Mr. Lincoln's argument. We deemed it by far the ablest effort of the campaign from whatever source. The occasion was a great one and the speaker was in every way equal to it. The effect produced on his listeners was magnetic. No one who was present will ever forget the power and vehemence of the following passage:
>
> "My distinguished friend says it is an insult to the emigrants to Kansas and Nebraska to say that they are not able to govern themselves. We must not slur over an argument of that kind because it happens to tickle the ear. It must be met and answered. I admit the emigrant to Kansas and Nebraska is competent to govern himself, but [rising to his full height] I deny his right to govern any other person without that person's consent."

The *Tribune* had troubles nearer home, however, in 1854. In the dry law wave which passed through the country, the Illinois legislature had passed a measure extremely offensive to the "wets." Here again Lincoln and Douglas were in opposition. Emanuel Hertz in his *Abraham Lincoln* (Vol. 1, page 272) states that Lincoln helped to frame this law and that the Douglas group were against it. He also says that John L. Scripps was one of the supporters of the law.

Chicago brewers and saloonkeepers, chiefly represented by North-Side Germans, organized an opposition to the enforce-

ment of the law. On April 23 they marched across the river and there were liquor riots on Randolph Street in which one man was killed and a dozen injured.

The *Democratic Press* said that the *Tribune* was to blame for this rioting and the *Tribune* came out in a two-column defense of its policies.

"We have spoken in strong terms," it said, "against slave catchers and the instigators of that mean business in Chicago; also against the dangers to our free institutions from the insidious acts of Jesuits and Popery."

It was a weak defense and the *Tribune* was in a weak position, from which it was not rescued until a year later, and then by other hands. The paper even then had elements of strength, however, which were never lost.

The *Tribune* noted new buildings in all parts of the city in 1854. Two and a half millions had been spent for buildings during that year. Dearborn Street was to be improved with a block of splendid stores, five stories high with fronts of Athens cut stone.

The *Tribune* in 1854 made an interesting prophecy in connection with the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. This is recorded by Cole in his *Era of the Civil War*. Douglas had sprung a mine, the *Tribune* said on March 3 of that year, "which would forever blast all his presidential aspirations and cripple his political power." Lincoln foresaw this prospect at Freeport, and that is what happened.

Chapter Seven

THE COMING OF JOSEPH MEDILL

THE YEAR 1855 saw the foundation stones laid for what is acknowledged to be one of the great newspaper institutions of the world, under the guiding genius of Joseph Medill, an Ohio editor, who entered the Chicago field on June 18 of that year. With him came the brilliant Galena editor, Dr. Charles H. Ray. It was Medill, however, whose mark was to be permanent and whose fame was to be lasting.

"Rumor hath it," said the *Tribune* on May 4, 1855, "that the *Tribune* has changed hands and that its name is to be altered and its present principles and policies to be abandoned. The only semblance of truth is that the number of proprietors and editors is to be increased and the establishment put on a basis of magnitude and strength not exceeded by any other paper west of New York.

"This will be accomplished in due time and in the meantime the friends of the *Tribune* may be assured that it will remain true and consistent in support and advocacy of all measures calculated to advance the interests of Temperance, Morality and Religion and to increase the strength of the Republican party."

The paper at this time was continuing a rather fainthearted campaign for the adoption of the Maine liquor law — a demand broader than the dry legislation mentioned in the preceding chapter. On June 4 the paper said that the state would be called on to decide in the elections "whether it shall be free from

the slavery of Rum, the dominion of the tyrant Intemperance." On June 12 the decisive defeat of the prohibition law was announced.

"Unite, unite," said the *Tribune* of the next day. "There is a common cause, a common enemy. Why cannot all who fight for freedom be marshalled under one banner?"

The issue of freedom, however, was not to be decided by temperance legislation, and the time had come for a momentous change in the ownership and policy of the paper. Forrest, Fowler, and Stewart had led it along a consistent and increasingly emphatic antislavery course. They had foreseen the struggle that was coming. They had, however, confused temperance and religious prejudice and antislavery and the paper was, in consequence, the voice of a small group. Its influence with the new and more cosmopolitan population of Chicago was dwindling. It was at this point that Medill stepped in. The story of the continued growth of the paper to its present great battery of presses and a circulation increased one hundred times, begins here.

On June 18, 1855, it was announced:

The *Chicago Tribune,* daily, weekly and bi-weekly, will henceforth be published by a new firm by the name of Wright, Medill & Co. The proprietors had hoped to present the *Tribune* to its readers in an entirely new dress, but the press for the use of the office could not by any possibility be finished by Messrs. Hoe & Co. in time to meet the needs of the occasion. In the meantime, with the material at their command and now in use here, they will endeavor to make such minor improvements as will be satisfactory to the readers. Important changes in the editorial staff of the *Tribune* will be announced in their proper season.

Of the new proprietors it was stated:

Timothy Wright — Joe Medill.

Mr. Wright whose name appears this morning as one of the publishers of the *Tribune,* is one of the oldest and most respected citizens of Chicago. His interest is now and has been for many years identified with the Northwest and this city, and his connection

with our paper will, while it affords an ample guarantee of its pecuniary responsibility, be an earnest that it will continue to be as it has heretofore been, a staunch advocate and defender of Western men and measures. . . .

Mr. Medill, who will have the more immediate charge of the business of the office, is from Cleveland, lately one of the proprietors of the *Daily Leader* of that city. Our friends will find him a thorough business man — and an amiable and intelligent gentleman — one whose integrity and fair dealing are beyond question. We commend him to the good offices of our citizens generally and to friends of the *Tribune* particularly.

Joseph Medill at this time was thirty-two years old and had had six years of experience in journalism and politics in Ohio. With his advent the *Tribune* was to take a new and vigorous course, to become forceful in politics, capable in business, strong in the gathering of news.

Medill was not alone in laying these foundation stones, as this history shows, but his mind was a strong force, which influenced and at times dominated the course of the paper in those formative years. Later, in 1874, after service in the Illinois Constitutional Convention of 1869, on the civil service commission, and as mayor of Chicago, he took complete financial and editorial control of the paper and continued this until his death in 1899. He was general manager of the paper, or managing editor, a consolidated position during his first eight years, and was editor in chief from November, 1863, to August, 1866. He served at times as Washington correspondent.

"The growth of the paper in business and influence, from the beginning of his connection with it," says the *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois*, "was one of the marvels of journalism, making it easily one of the most successful newspaper ventures in the United States, if not in the world."

The *Tribune* establishment at the beginning of Mr. Medill's association with it was a long room on the third floor of the Evans Block, now the Ashland Block, facing Clark Street, where the wagons often went hub deep in mud, and where

some wag had placed a sign "No Bottom Here." Chicago was a rough boom town of 85,000 population. Political idealism was on the upsurge, and business was coming swiftly to this natural center.

During the five years beginning with 1855 Medill and his associates were to make their mark on the history of the nation. The *United States Biographical Dictionary* states:

"It was largely, if not mainly, through the influence of the *Tribune*, that the merits and ability of Mr. Lincoln were made known to the country; and largely due to the pens of C. H. Ray and Joseph Medill that he was given the prominence that secured his nomination for the presidency in 1860."

Professor Tracey Elmer Strevey of the history department of Northwestern University, who has made a close study of Medill and his part in the history of the *Tribune*, states that by the time of the Lincoln campaign the paper was next to the *New York Tribune* in influence and that it was supreme in the West. . . . The *Tribune*, he states, by its efforts, and its editors, by their political work as part of the Lincoln group of Illinois politicians, put Lincoln over in the nominating convention, and the paper's influence in the campaign of 1860, particularly in the doubtful Western states, is acknowledged by all students of that period.

A contemporary says of Medill's character:

"His early education, home training, struggles with poverty, early religious inclination to strict Calvinism, gave him a ruggedness of character, determination of purpose and unyielding will that for the period during which he dominated the political thought of the West and Northwest was absolutely needed to be successful."

Chapter Eight

MEDILL'S EARLY CAREER

Joseph Medill was of Scotch-Irish ancestry, of the same fighting strain which gave Washington his immovable rear guard of the Revolution, which pushed through the mountain barriers to make the farms and villages in the mid-continent and to found the first self-governing communities west of the Alleghenies.

Some of Medill's ancestors were expelled from France for adhering to their religion at the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. They were of the Huguenot strain that formed a part of the new web of independence across the seas. His grandfather, William Medill, was the author of a book on the Apocalypse. His great-grandfather on the maternal side traced a relationship to Sir Walter Scott.[1] His father, William, a strict Presbyterian, and his mother, who was Margaret Corbett, a member of the Established Church of England, migrated to America in 1819 from Belfast, Ireland, and settled in New Brunswick, Canada. Here Joseph was born on a farm near St. John on April 6, 1823. The older members of the family had thought they were settling in America, but the disputed strip of territory in northern Maine where they lived was subsequently awarded to Canada.

The Medills moved from New Brunswick to Ohio in 1832 and there on a farm near the village of Massillon young Medill

[1] Letter from Elinor Medill Patterson to Kathryn Maddock.

MARGARET MEDILL

The mother of Joseph Medill, who gave him much of that firm and pious character which was reflected in the Tribune *and so influenced his time.*

MAJOR WILLIAM H. MEDILL

He came to Chicago with his brother, Joseph, and aided in building the early Tribune. *He led his men in many battles of the Civil War and fell at Gettysburg.*

worked and went to school for several years. He attended an academy at Massillon for a time but family misfortunes kept him from a college career, and his chief education was gained through wide reading.

It is said of Joseph that he walked miles, like the young Lincoln in Indiana, to borrow books to read. His early taste was for history, particularly Gibbon and Hume, and for travel books and biography. His first contacts with journalism were in reading and forming clubs of subscribers for Horace Greeley's *Weekly New York Tribune.* For several months he walked nine miles every Saturday to be taught Latin, logic, and natural philosophy by a clergyman living in Canton.

At the age of twenty-one Medill began to study law in Canton. He was admitted to the bar in 1846, forming a partnership with George W. McIllvaine, who later became Chief Justice of Ohio. Among his associates of this period were Salmon P. Chase and Edwin M. Stanton.

The law going slowly, Medill began to haunt the office of a newspaper in New Philadelphia. Here he learned to set type and operate a hand press and even took a hand at writing editorials, which formed the chief meat of country newspapers in those days.

In 1849 Medill purchased the *Coshocton Whig* and with his three brothers as assistants began his career in journalism. He changed the name of the paper to the *Coshocton Republican* and began to participate in politics as a Free-Soil Whig. He fought hard and brought success to the Whig ticket in a Democratic county. He entered the presidential contest in 1852 as a supporter of General Scott who was defeated by Franklin Pierce.

After two years of country journalism Medill moved to Cleveland and established the *Daily Forest City*, a Whig morning paper. He had reached the conclusion that the Whig party was doomed and he attempted at this time to unite the Whigs and Free-Soilers. His judgment was vindicated by the election

of 1852, which brought about the end of the Whig party and the beginning of the new sectional Republican party.

Medill consolidated the *Daily Forest City* with a Free-Soil journal edited by John C. Vaughan, a South Carolina abolitionist, in Cleveland. The new paper was called the *Cleveland Leader*. Medill and Vaughan began the task of uniting the antislavery elements, even before the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.

In letters and editorials Medill urged the formation of a Republican party. He wrote to Horace Greeley on the subject and received the reply to "go ahead with your proposed Republican party and God bless you." Even as early as 1852–53 Medill wrote editorials in the *Daily Forest City* urging the name "Republican" for the new party. The term "republicanism," he said, applied to our form of government better than "democracy," and was the right name for the new party. "Whig" had unpleasant connotations to him of something from across the sea.

In March, 1854, Medill called a meeting of active antislavery men to be held in the office of the *Cleveland Leader*. In February of that year a similar meeting had been held in Ripon, Wisconsin, one of the disputed birthplaces of the Republican party. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise had brought the time for action all along the line. The meeting in Medill's office was secret and about twenty men attended, including Whigs, Democrats and Free-Soilers. One of these men was Salmon P. Chase. Medill proposed the name "Republican" and it was adopted. On July 6 of that year the first sectional convention of the party was held at Jackson, Michigan.

As a contribution to historical accuracy in regard to the founding of the Republican party and Medill's part in it, the *Tribune* on June 18, 1869, printed a letter from "W," a writer familiar with politics for twenty years. Jacob M. Howard of Michigan had recently been called the author of the name "Republican." "W," writing from Buffalo, said:

In 1848 Joseph Medill entered the political arena. He believed the name Whig was distasteful to many persons in his party and especially the foreign element, which found considerable satisfaction in the word Democrat, and the changes rung upon it. Studying the history of parties he found that the name Republican was borne by the party from 1824 [on the rupture of the Democratic-Republican party as named by Jefferson] until James Watson Webb gave it the title of Whig about 1829.

Medill thought the name Republican a good one and determined to urge its adoption. He bought the *Coshocton* (Ohio) *Whig* which he changed to the *Coshocton Republican* in order that the name of the paper might be like that of the party he intended to support. The county was Democratic, the opposition being divided among Whigs, Free Soilers and anti-slavery Democrats on questions of local politics. It was the first fusion of these elements in the United States and was accomplished in 1850, carrying the county for the first time against the Democrats on Congressional tickets.

Medill published a series of articles in the *Republican*, giving the history of the Whig party and urging for it the name of Republican. In 1851 Medill sold and moved to Cleveland where he started the *Forest City* and supported Scott for president. On November 23, 1852, he published an article in the *Forest City* favoring the disbandment of the Whig party and the organization of the Seward Whigs, the Silas Wright Democrats and the Chase Free Soilers into a new party to be called the National Republicans. . . . He followed this with other articles and lost 2,000 subscribers of a total of 4,000, though in less than a year his list was made good by new patrons.

The *Cleveland Free Democrat* published by J. C. Vaughan, sustained the movement in everything but name. He wanted the name Free Democrat. Medill at this time wrote a letter to Greeley of the *New York Tribune* urging him to join the movement. The latter replied that he favored the fusion plan and platform but the time had not arrived for him to take the ground that the Whigs must dissolve, as he thought they were too strong a party to be broken up. He opposed the title Republican on the ground that a name once used and discarded could not again be used to advantage.

In the winter of 1852–53 Salmon P. Chase, accompanied by Vaughan, called on Medill to express approval of the movement, but urging the new party be called Free Democrats. But Medill was obstinate and his proposition for the Republican party began

to meet approval. The first experiment was in the charter election in Cleveland, April 6, 1853. The new party called itself Republican, but was called Fusionists by the Democrats. The city previously had been Democratic by 700 or 800 majority and the new party carried it by 300 to 400. In the fall of 1853 all the Western Reserve counties were carried by a similar fusion, with a dozen others hitherto Democratic. Many Germans joined the Republican party.

Medill and Vaughan united the *Forest City* and the *Free Democrat* into *The Leader*. The name was selected by Medill because his paper had been the leader of the Republican party movement. In 1854 the anti-Nebraska excitement suddenly brought together all the elements hostile to Democracy and the name Republican was adopted by the Whig convention in Michigan and spread to become national. The *New York Tribune*, Seward, etc., did not adopt the name until the Frémont campaign in 1856.

The platform adopted at the meeting in Medill's office was very simple, according to an interview which Medill gave in 1899. It stated:

"No more slave states; no more slave territory; resistance to pro-slavery aggression; slavery is sectional; liberty is national."

"In regard to the work of Medill in aiding the formation of a new party," writes Strevey in his history, "with the name Republican attached to it, most writers and historians fail to see his handiwork involved whatsoever. A. J. Turner, after careful investigation, states, 'the first paper to suggest the name Republican as a desirable one for a new party was the *Daily Forest City*, published at Cleveland and edited by Joseph Medill, the veteran editor of the *Chicago Tribune*.' He also brings out that A. E. Bovay's letter to Horace Greeley suggesting the organization of a new political party was antedated by Medill's letter to Greeley in 1853."

Medill said in an interview which was published in the *Saturday Evening Post* a few months after his death in 1899:

"The honor of giving birth to the Republican party ought to be divided between Steve Douglas and myself. I began by

preaching the death of the Whig party in my little Whig paper; Douglas hastened it by pulling down the bars and letting the South into the free territory. The North united under the name of the National Republican party to drive them out of it."

Chapter Nine

AS THE PAPER CHANGES HANDS

Dr. Charles H. Ray, whose powerful editorials in the *Tribune* were to influence political and economic thought in the West for the next decade, came to Chicago in the spring of 1855, about the time Medill arrived from Ohio. Horace Greeley's advice to both these young editors was to start a penny paper in Chicago. According to George P. Upton, who became successively reporter, war correspondent, dramatic critic, and editorial writer of the *Tribune* in later years, it was to Medill that Greeley gave his famous injunction: "Go west, young man, go west."

The *Tribune* that spring spoke of "the throbbing impulses, the mighty energies, the sweeping tides of active life in the West." The population of the city had grown to 85,000 and there was no sign of a recession. Chicago, the *Tribune* said, was destined by nature, with the aid of capital and art, for at least two great purposes. These were: to serve as a distributing center for eastern and foreign manufactures in the West and Northwest, and to serve as a manufacturing center. The first train over the Illinois Central from Cairo had just come into the city.

Mr. Medill and Dr. Ray, two young men in this young city, looked the situation over. They had received letters of introduction to each other from Greeley and they met, it is said, in the parlor of the Tremont House, introduced by John B. Drake, the proprietor. After consultation and inquiry they decided to buy into the *Tribune* if they could, instead of starting a new venture. Medill had business as well as editorial talents. Ray was the flaming idealist and reformer.

It will be recalled that just before these two men joined the staff, the *Tribune* had been a leader in the prohibition cause. On February 22, 1855, several temperance organizations passed resolutions endorsing the course of the paper in their support. One resolution, passed by the Garden City Division, No. 422, Sons of Temperance, reads:

"That the noble stand taken on the subject of temperance and a prohibitory law, by the *Chicago Tribune*, is such as meets the hearty approval and warmest sympathy of the members of this division and a continuance of a fearless defense of the Right will command our united approbation and support."

Under the management which was about to retire, the paper continued its fanatical fight for prohibition and against liberalism. In the spring of 1855 it supported the Know-Nothing candidate, Levi D. Boone, for mayor. National policies were brought into municipal and county struggles.

The other Chicago papers, the *Tribune* said, had formed a "Holy Alliance to defeat the threatened extinction of foreign misrule and Jesuitical domination of this city." The Douglas interests were with the "anti-American" party.

"All this," said the *Tribune* of February 23, "is against the lovers of freedom, temperance, virtue and the Protestant religion." But the dry crusade of that spring failed and the *Tribune's* part in it had an echo on June 28, 1855, just after Medill and Ray had bought control and taken charge, which taught them something of a lesson.

The antiprohibition forces staged a big celebration. A pa-

rade led by a band playing a dead march and flaunting a banner inscribed "The *Chicago Tribune*," which was draped in black, marched by the office of the paper.

The next day the new management of the paper said:

"The *Chicago Tribune* is not dead. If not now, the principles which it supports will by and by be triumphant. We may endure the mortification of a hundred other defeats. The crepe may be borne by our door ninety and nine times, but sooner or later the victory will perch on the banner we carry aloft. The Almighty has ordained it." This was the *Tribune* speaking a new language which was not at first recognized.

The newspaper which the new editors were about to take over was far from being an up-to-date journal in reporting the news. The election of Lyman Trumbull as Senator from Illinois was noted on February 9, but it was four days later that a Springfield letter was printed giving some idea of the importance of this event. This was the outcome of a legislative struggle in which Lincoln's future was determined, but it meant little to the retiring *Tribune* editors. The paper said of Trumbull:

"He is a gentleman, scholar, jurist and profound statesman. He is a man of more real talent and power than Abram Lincoln. Verily the oligarchy that has ruled over us so long [the Southern slave power] may see the beginning of the end."

On February 13, in a Springfield letter, the *Tribune* reporter said that the night before Trumbull's election Whigs and Republicans had conferred in the editorial rooms of the *Springfield Journal*. Nearly all present had decided to vote for Lincoln, and on the balloting Lincoln had received forty-four votes for five ballots. Then seeing that he could not win and fearing that the election would go to Governor J. A. Matteson, who was in sympathy with the slave owners, Lincoln had withdrawn and had thrown his strength to Trumbull. Lincoln was disappointed, but he began to consider the possibility of succeeding Douglas in 1858.

In the same month (February, 1855) the *Tribune* noted threats of disunion from the South. The man who was to become the first Republican governor of Illinois, William H. Bissell, said that the West would fight on the slavery issue.

Free-Soil advocates began to move toward the colonization of Kansas, as advocated in the *Tribune* soon after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. From far Massachusetts the lovers of freedom began to send forth their young men, armed with rifles and Bibles. John Brown and his sons started out for Kansas with Cromwellian resolution.

Editor Stewart of the *Tribune*, about to yield the editorial desk to Medill and Ray, wrote in February, 1855:

> The scenes at Washington the past three years have shown the necessity of sending men there instead of walking rum casks and slave traders. The Kansas-Nebraska bill broke the shackles of party. Out of these fragments there shall rise up and consolidate a party of primeval purity, sworn to sustain and perpetuate the great principles that all men are created free and equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.
>
> The pulsations of the great heart of humanity will send through the ranks of the Republican party such a spirit of unity as will render powerless all attempts to break it down. All this power is consecrated to the great task of perfecting the Republican party and we bid it a hearty Godspeed.

In no place, Stewart wrote, was the stab given to freedom and justice by the Kansas-Nebraska Bill more keenly felt than in Chicago. This was the home of " the traitor who conceived the wrong, Senator Douglas." He referred to the Douglas followers in Chicago as " pro-slavery, pro-whiskey, pro-Irish, pro-devil party of this country."

This, then, was the spirit and the editorial foundation on which Medill and Ray were to build the new *Tribune*. In some respects they merged into it naturally. In other ways definitely new paths were taken.

Chapter Ten

THE NEW REGIME

During the summer of 1855 many changes began to appear in the *Tribune*. Dr. Ray had taken editorial charge in March although his name was not used as editor until September 24, on the day that the paper donned a "new and beautiful dress" of type from the foundry of J. Connor & Son, of New York. Mr. Medill had been busy in improving the shabby appearance of the paper, and in the press room. The new dress included the first "copper-faced" type ever used in this city.

A new fast Hoe press (single cylinder) was purchased, run with steam power. The old Northrup press which had been in use was a sort of steppingstone between a hand press and a cylinder. The old press was announced for sale at a great bargain.

"Our business," said the *Tribune*, "requires faster presses and accordingly we have been obliged to purchase one of Hoe's fast cylinders."

On September 24, when the names of Dr. C. H. Ray and J. C. Vaughan were announced as editors, the *Tribune* said:

"We have the pleasure of informing the numerous friends and readers of the Tribune [note the distinction made here; one that became characteristic] that its present income is highly satisfactory [another characteristic]; that its circulation is rapidly increasing; that its advertising was never so large as during the last quarter. The number of dailies now issued and sold is rising 3000; tri-weeklies 500, and weeklies 4500."

Washington and other important news began to appear on page 1. There was more local news and temperance and religious articles began to fall off in volume. The editorials became more vigorous. President Pierce was referred to in one editorial as "A poor, weak, vacillating tool of the slave power."

"Let the heroic band of Republicans in Washington stand as firm as the slave power," the new editor exhorted. "There is a power above the law, the spirit of the people. Let them manifest a national bravery, as firm as the eternal hills."

Dr. Ray was two years older than Mr. Medill. He was born in Norwich, New York, and came West at the age of twenty-two. He studied to be a physician and practiced at Muscatine, Iowa, and in Tazewell county, Illinois, before going to Galena to become editor of the *Jeffersonian* for the years 1853–54. He then went to Springfield, became connected for a time with a temperance paper, and served as secretary of the Illinois Senate in the spring of 1855. After this Horace Greeley and Joseph Medill led him to the *Tribune*. He bought a one-fourth interest a month or so after Medill had taken a one-third.

"He was one of the most trenchant and powerful writers ever connected with the Illinois press," it is stated in the *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois*. "His articles exerted a wide influence in the period of organization of the Republican party, in which he was an influential factor."

Dr. Ray served as senior editor of the *Tribune* until 1863, when he left to enter the financial field. He returned in 1865, serving as editorial writer for a few months, and then left to take a position with the *Chicago Evening Post*.

An estimate of his character is given by George P. Upton:

> With Dr. Ray's connection with the *Tribune;* and his manly, straightforward and vigorous conduct during the Chicago riots, the excitement of the Kansas war, the War of the Rebellion, and all the great events which culminated in the election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency, the public are familiar. His writings are

so sharp and trenchant, so eloquently denunciatory of wrong and so searching in criticism, that they were copied far and wide and exerted a powerful influence always on the side of right, and did much to establish the paper's reputation as a fearless, outspoken journal.

He never looked at consequences when he believed himself right, for he was absolutely fearless. When once settled upon a course, he would say to his associates, "this is the right course and we must pursue it to the end regardless of consequences." He cared for no pecuniary injury as a result of advocating an unpopular doctrine. When subscribers dropped off as a consequence he would say "Let them go. We are right. They will all come back in a few weeks and bring others with them." And his words were more than once verified.

Historians of the period tell of the part that Dr. Ray, as well as Mr. Medill, played in the organization of the Republican party, as political technicians as well as editors. Letters of Lincoln show the influence that these men carried during the time of Lincoln's political development. The files of the *Tribune* speak for their editorial work.

Dr. Ray found his spiritual home in the *Tribune* office. The files of the Galena *Jeffersonian* reveal his newspaper ideals and his political convictions, and these were transferred to the *Tribune* practically intact. Mr. Medill, when he came into editorial control, carried on the same tradition.

The *Jeffersonian* said in 1854, in language prophetic of the *Tribune* to come:

"We belong to no clique, no faction, no sect, no man or party of men. There is no question that we dare not examine, when examination is necessary, no man whom we dare not censure when censure is deserved. We shall beg no man's patronage, nor shall we change an opinion, alter a line or erase a word to secure it."

Dr. Ray's *Jeffersonian* also aspired to be a good, enterprising newspaper. It opposed the popular sovereignty doctrine of Senator Douglas, calling it "humbug," and declared in No-

vember, 1854, that Douglas had played a great game and lost. In a mechanical device, too, the *Jeffersonian* was a forecast of the *Tribune* of the early '60s. This was the little inset hands which Dr. Ray used to point to trenchant paragraphs, a feature which the *Tribune* used in many campaigns.

Dr. Ray had learned something of Illinois politics at first-hand before he joined Mr. Medill in buying into the *Tribune*. After he had sold his Galena paper he had gone to Springfield to become clerk of the Senate for one session. He had also acted as correspondent for the *New York Tribune* and had observed Lincoln in action in the Trumbull senatorial contest. There he had formed his opinion of Lincoln and of the Republican prospects in this state. It was about this time that he received a letter from Greeley, in response to one he had written, advising him to go into the newspaper business in Chicago and enclosing a letter of introduction to Joseph Medill who was coming on from Ohio with the same idea in mind.

Franklin W. Scott in *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois* says:

"Under the vigorous influence of Dr. Ray the paper [the *Tribune*] soon became of primary importance in Chicago and Illinois. It was one of the first to endorse the formation of the Republican party in Illinois and did much to bring about the successful organization of the party, and the nomination and election of Lincoln in 1860."

John C. Vaughan was identified in Illinois with the radical group which included Owen Lovejoy and Ichabod Codding, Congregational ministers. He could not, however, swing Mr. Medill and Dr. Ray to this extreme view, and the early stand of the paper under the new management was merely against the extension of slavery and in favor of the freedom for the territories. This was a moderate stand as contrasted with that taken by William Lloyd Garrison and William H. Seward. Later the *Tribune* was to retreat still further into conservatism in order to insure the nomination of Lincoln against the more

radical Seward. While not extremist, the *Tribune* was called radical by the Democrats, and so considered itself.

Many politicians began to climb the steps to the *Tribune* editorial sanctum to take the measure of the new editors and proprietors. One of these callers, in the summer of 1855, was Abraham Lincoln. Mr. Medill told of this call in an interview many years later. Lincoln came to the Clark Street office and introduced himself. Mr. Medill met him and they had a lively conversation. Lincoln said he had come to subscribe for the paper since he could not get it regularly down on the Sangamon River and had to borrow it from a neighbor. He paid four dollars in advance for a six months' subscription and Medill wrote a receipt on a piece of copy paper.

"I didn't like the paper before you boys took hold of it," Lincoln remarked to Medill. "It was too much of a Know-Nothing sheet."

Lincoln at that time was on one of his frequent visits to Chicago. He had been in the city before on law cases, and in 1848 he and Mrs. Lincoln had stayed at the Sherman House on their way home from the East, where Lincoln had served in Congress. That was the year that the McCormicks were turning out 500 reapers a year; the year the new Galena railroad was being built and the telegraph reached Chicago. Lincoln had spoken at a Whig rally in Chicago on October 6, 1848. He was then looking for a job in the Federal land office. Grant Goodrich offered him a law partnership in Chicago but he refused it.

In 1850 Lincoln had arrived in Chicago by stage from Peoria, a three days' trip of 249 miles, costing twelve dollars. He had remained there nineteen days working on a water-wheel patent case. It was on this visit that he delivered a eulogy on President Zachary Taylor in Courthouse Square. In 1852 Lincoln was again in Chicago, taking testimony of claimants against the Illinois and Michigan Canal. In 1855 and 1856 he was again in the city on law business. The *Democratic Press*

hoped that he would find time to address the people on the political issues of the day and he spoke at an open air meeting in Dearborn Park. On December 9 of that year he attended a banquet of three hundred Republicans in the Tremont House. He spoke to the toast: "The Union – the north will maintain it – the south will not depart therefrom."

Chapter Eleven

SLAVERY ISSUE DOMINANT

In 1856 the real strength of the new ownership of the *Tribune* began to be manifest. There was a new, attractive type face and news on page 1, the local department was strengthened and telegraph and foreign news were given increased space. William W. Peck became city editor and was given a column or more a day. A correspondent was sent to Washington, in the person of Medill.

This year saw a change in the firm name of the *Tribune*. It became *Vaughan, Ray and Medill* on August 29. There was, however, no change in ownership. Messrs. Wright and Webster remained silent partners. Alfred Cowles, who had charge of the finances from the beginning of the Medill-Ray-Vaughan regime was taken into the firm. The proprietors were Wright, Webster, Ray, Medill, Vaughan, and Cowles. The last had graduated a short time before at the University of Michigan.

Finances were in a satisfactory condition and on the beginning of the paper's tenth volume, June 10, it was announced that daily circulation had increased over 30 per cent and was gaining at the rate of one hundred copies a day. The tri-

weekly had increased 55 per cent in circulation and the weekly more than 300 per cent.

The slavery struggle in Kansas began to assume serious proportions early in 1856. A big Kansas meeting was called to be held in South Market Hall in Chicago.

"Laborers of Chicago," said the *Tribune* on January 7, "it is your turn now to be felt. The hand which seeks to enslave Kansas would fetter you."

On January 9 it was noted that a convention of free state editors had been suggested by the *Morgen Journal* of Jacksonville to be held in Decatur. The *Tribune* approved of this. Senator Jim Lane and Judge P. C. Schuyler came from Kansas to arouse the young Republican party to action. The *Tribune* made a big feature of these antislavery speakers.

On January 22, 1856, the *Tribune* printed a platform of principles which had been adopted by the Republicans of Chicago on November 3, 1855. These bear some marks of the imprint of Dr. Ray's editorial style and certainly express his convictions and those of Medill. The platform stated:

United by a common resolve to maintain Right against Wrong [a typical Ray expression], and in the belief in the determination of a virtuous and intelligent people to sustain justice, we declare:

1. Governments are instituted among men to secure the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

2. The mission of the Republican party is to maintain the liberties of the people, the sovereignty of the states and the perpetuity of the Union.

3. That the Federal government, being one of limited powers, derived wholly from the Constitution, its agents should construe these powers strictly and never exercise a doubtful authority — always inexpedient and dangerous.

4. That if the plain Jeffersonian policy were carried out, we feel that the government would relieve itself of all responsibility for the existence of slavery, which Republicanism insists it should, and means it shall do.

The slave power, the Republicans continued, had forced the issue, and whether freedom should be limited to the free states

and slavery to the slave states was the absorbing, paramount issue.

Illinois, it was stated, "among the first born of this principle, will be the last to yield."

It was proposed that a committee of thirteen be appointed to correspond with men in various parts of the state for the purpose of more fully perfecting the state Republican organization, and to take the necessary steps to call a Republican state convention.

During this year another man who was later to guide for a time the editorial policy of the *Tribune* served as secretary of the state central committee of the Republicans. This was Horace White, who came to the *Tribune* as a writer in 1857 and who in 1864 succeeded Medill for a few years as editor in chief.

Many historians of the period have taken note of White, who was a faithful friend of Lincoln, and his career now properly becomes a part of this history. He was born in New Hampshire in 1834 and was brought West when a baby by his father, who made a memorable winter journey and became the founder of Beloit, Wisconsin. Young White was graduated from Beloit College and entered Chicago newspaper work as a reporter, later becoming city editor of the *Journal.* Then, after a brief service with the Associated Press,[1] he joined the *Tribune's* growing staff.

On February 5, 1856, a salute of 100 guns was fired near the lake front to signalize the first national triumph of the Republican party – the election of Nathaniel P. Banks as speaker of the national House of Representatives.

The *Tribune* took occasion to deny a *Chicago Times* story on February 15 that the *Tribune* editors were members of a Know-Nothing lodge. On February 19 the *Tribune* said, prophetically:

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[1] An earlier organization, not related to today's famous news-gathering agency.

If we disappoint any of our readers by the space we devote to the affairs of Kansas, we beg them to remember that just now we are at the beginning of great events of which the territory is to be the theatre; and that a Civil war for the extension of slavery and the subjugation of a free people, is a danger most imminent and pressing. We wish the people to be fully informed of the purposes of the slave power and the means used to make its purposes effective, to the end that they may act intelligently and as becomes men who have a righteous cause to serve.

It was announced in the paper on February 15, 1856, that $2,000 had been subscribed in Chicago to help make Kansas a free state. But the *Tribune* proposed to do more than send money. In a letter to the *Herald of Freedom*, probably the same Kansas paper referred to by William Allen White in his story of Sycamore Ridge in *A Certain Rich Man*, the *Tribune* editors announced:

" We will send more and when spring comes you may look for a large number of emigrants who will handle an axe or a Sharpe's rifle as the occasion may require. Though the heavens fall or the Union be rent in twain, Kansas shall not be cursed with slavery, is the voice of the North."

The *Tribune* editors continued:

" Whenever the people of the North can be educated up to the point of resolutely saying to the slaveholders, and backing up what they say, ' thus far shall your accursed system go but no farther, dissolve the Union if you dare,' then and never until then will the aggressions and the outrages of slavery cease."

The *Tribune* printed a story of slaves escaping across the ice of the Ohio River, and of one mother who cut the throat of her child in order to save it from being dragged back to slavery.

The editorial convention, which was a Republican convention without the name, was held, as planned, in Decatur on February 22. William B. Ogden, one of Chicago's chief business men, was a delegate. Lincoln had avoided a meeting with

the radicals in Springfield a year before, but he was present at this meeting and helped Dr. Ray in the preparation of the resolutions, which were on the whole conservative. Lincoln's political wisdom is seen here; he saw the strength of the Republicans if they could avoid the radical political taint of the abolitionists.

The nut to crack was that of constitutional states rights and the question of federal control of slavery. This involved the growth of a principle of federal imposition on all states of what the then dominant group of the nation considered the right. Slavery was to Lincoln and to the *Tribune* editors simply wrong. What to do about it in a practical, political way was the question.

Dr. Ray was appointed chairman of the committee on resolutions and with the aid of Lincoln framed those which were adopted. The platform disavowed any intention of interfering with slavery in the states, protested against the introduction of slavery into territories already free, demanded the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, opposed Know-Nothingism, and concluded with a demand for reform in state government.

A call was issued for a state-wide gathering of anti-Nebraska forces at Bloomington on May 29. On February 25 the *Tribune* called attention to an important lawsuit, a case in the Supreme Court docketed as Dred Scott, plaintiff in error, vs. John F. A. Sanford, defendant. In the meantime the *Tribune* at home was engaged in a mayoralty fight, backing F. C. Sherman and making slavery the issue.

"To your posts, men of Illinois," said the *Tribune* on March 1. "Organize and prepare for action. Act in 1856 as the fathers acted in 1776, and so help save the republic and its liberties."

On March 4 the paper's "forms" were held open until 2 a.m. for returns from this mayoralty election, and the *Tribune* asked friends to send or bring returns to the office. Sher-

man's opponent, Thomas Dyer, won by 460 votes. Money and base appeals, said the *Tribune*, " the grog shop vote. What good citizen does not regret the degradation of Chicago! "

The Republican national convention had been called for June 17 in Philadelphia. There was talk of making John C. Frémont the candidate. The *Tribune* spoke highly of Senator Trumbull, as the challenger of Douglas and as a great man. Nothing was said of Lincoln. The *Tribune's* Washington correspondent on April 23 praised Congressman Elihu B. Washburne as one of the few " pure and uncontaminated Republicans."

The *Springfield Register*, a strong Douglas organ, said there was an abolition plot on to kill Douglas, that a creature of the intrigue, Senator Jim Lane of Kansas, was about to challenge him to a duel. " Their Chicago organ, the *Tribune*, is doubtless posted on this."

On April 26, 1856, the Chicago Historical Society was organized with Dr. Ray as corresponding secretary. On April 30 the *Tribune* printed a lively Washington letter, explaining in an editorial note that " we do not endorse the views of our correspondents. We let them speak their own minds and we speak ours."

" Washington is an exceedingly dull place," Medill wrote. " It is full of idle people who, in some way or other, live upon Uncle Sam's bounty, and spend their money in gambling, drinking and other alike useful occupations.

" The feelings between members of Congress from southern and northern sections, I am told, are very harsh and bitter. Everyone seems to feel that matters are fast coming to a crisis. Well, the sooner they do come, the better. Let it be for once settled whether the policy of the country is to be freedom or slavery. That will be the issue in the next presidential campaign."

The nomination race would be between Frémont and McLean, Medill thought.

"I should very cheerfully vote for Salmon P. Chase," he added, "and he would certainly make a very good president. But it must be evident that he cannot be elected. We must succeed in electing our president, if Kansas is to be free, and be careful how we commit ourselves to a man. The cause must be kept ahead. The one committed to the cause and who can concentrate the greatest number of votes is the man."

In the presidential campaign of 1860 Medill was for political purposes, to moderate his views about war and slavery but he was to keep his same policy of championing the cause and its success, rather than the man.

He was known as a Chase friend long before Lincoln came to the front as a possible candidate, but his main concern was to get "the available man," the one who could win, and this was what finally settled him on Lincoln.

Chapter Twelve

LINCOLN'S "LOST SPEECH"

The Republican convention in Bloomington on May 29, 1856, where Lincoln made his famous "lost speech," was a high point in early *Tribune* history, as well as in the political history of the state. It was here, Medill claimed afterward, that the seed was planted that made Lincoln president. It was here that the young Republican element reached toward unity and found its high ideal.

The Democratic convention of that spring was referred to in the *Tribune* as the "pro-slavery convention." Many Demo-

crats thought this was bitterly unfair and countered with the phrase "Black Republicans."

War began in Kansas early in May. The *Tribune* engaged James Redpath as Kansas correspondent and printed long and lurid accounts of the fighting.

"Does the reader say this is afar off," the *Tribune* asked on May 14, "that the combatants are a handful of men? Let him turn to our own or any history, and answer his own statement. Who stood at Thermopylae? Who caused the Reformation? Who were the martyrs for Liberty and conscience? Who made Bunker Hill sacred? The handful, the few, have done all the greatest deeds."

Two hundred and seventy delegates attended the Bloomington convention, the majority from the northern and central sections of the state. Medill was there as a delegate and also as a reporter for the *Tribune*. Ray and Scripps were also there. Albert J. Beveridge, in his *Life of Lincoln*, notes (Vol. 4, page 11):

"A young reporter on the *Chicago Tribune*, Joseph Medill, who was soon to have much to do with the advancement of Lincoln's political fortunes, was also at the convention and heard Lincoln's speech."

As the time for the convention drew near both Medill and Ray were fearful that it would adopt a platform that would drive out the foreign vote, a vote which the earlier *Tribune* had alienated and which the new *Tribune* sought to bring into the party as essential to unity and success.

"The Bloomington resolutions must oppose Know-Nothingism," Dr. Ray wrote to Senator Trumbull on March 24, 1856. A few days later Dr. Ray again wrote the Senator:

"It is of the utmost importance that in the approaching state convention of anti-Nebraska men of Illinois, there should be some distinct ground assumed upon which the 20,000 anti-slavery German voters of this state can stand."

His wisdom and foresight are plain now. It is stated by William E. Dodd, in an article on *The Fight for the Northwest* (American Historical Review, 1916), that the election of Lincoln was finally determined by the Germans, Irish, and Scotch, who brought into the middle counties of Illinois and Iowa opinions hostile to slavery and the Southern aristocracy.

The future was to find these foreign elements among the strongest supporters of Lincoln and his policies, which were in the main also those of the *Tribune*.

The Bloomington convention adopted a platform similar to the one proclaimed in Decatur a month earlier, and William H. Bissell was nominated for governor. As a gesture to the German vote Francis A. Hoffman was nominated lieutenant-governor.

When the time came for speech-making, there were calls for Lincoln. Medill recalled that scene in interviews with Ida Tarbell and others years later.

"He came forward," said Medill, "and took the platform beside the presiding officer. At first his voice was shrill and hesitating. There was a curious, introspective look in his eyes, which lasted for a few moments. Then his voice began to move steadily and smoothly forward, with modulation under perfect control thenceforward to the finish. He warmed up as he went on and spoke more rapidly; he looked a foot taller as he straightened himself to his full height, and his eyes flashed fire; his countenance became wrapped in intense emotion; he rushed along like a thunderstorm. He prophesized war as the outcome of the Kansas aggressions and poured forth his denunciations upon the slave power. The scene paralleled or exceeded that in the Revolutionary Virginia convention of 81 years before when Patrick Henry invoked death if liberty could not be preserved."

In that same reminiscence Medill acknowledged that he was more or less in a trance while Lincoln was speaking and that after Lincoln had sat down the young reporter realized that he

had taken no notes. He had nothing on paper but an abbreviated introduction. He was not scooped, however, as all the other reporters were in the same plight. On the effect of this speech Miss Tarbell, in her *In the Footsteps of the Lincolns* (page 336), quotes Medill:

"My belief is that after Mr. Lincoln had cooled down he was rather pleased that his speech had not been reported, as it was too radical on the slavery question for the digestion of Central and Southern Illinois at that time, and that he preferred to let it stand as a remembrance in the minds of his audience. But be that as it may, the effect of it was such on his hearers that he bounded to the leadership of the new Republican party of Illinois, and no man after that ever thought of disputing that position with him. On that occasion he planted the seed that germinated into a Presidential candidacy and that gave him the nomination over Seward at the Chicago convention of 1860, and which placed him in the presidential chair. . . ."

Medill saw this twenty years after the event, but the *Tribune* of 1856 does not reflect any such development. The seed was hidden in darkness for a long time, germinating in the political earth for three years before seeing the sunlight of 1860.

John Locke Scripps, who attended the convention for his paper, said of this scene:

"There never was an audience more completely electrified by human eloquence. Again and again during its delivery, they sprang to their feet and upon benches and testified by long continued shouts and waving of hats, how deeply the speaker had wrought upon their minds and hearts. It fused the mass of hitherto incongruous elements into one perfect homogeneity."

Despite this enthusiasm and fusion there was much work to be done before the young party could hope to defeat the Democrats in Illinois. Northern Illinois endorsed the Bloomington convention, Central Illinois was divided, and Southern Illinois was cold to it all. In Springfield a ratification meeting

was called by Lincoln. His partner, Herndon, and the janitor were the only ones who responded. Lincoln adjourned the meeting with the remark that despite this seeming deadness, the idea of the age would be triumphant.

In Chicago a great Kansas meeting was held in Courthouse Square on May 31. Senator Lane of Kansas made the speech of the day, arraigning President Pierce as a murderer and declaring that the Kansas code would never be enforced. The sum of $15,000 was raised and many revolvers and rifles were contributed for the Kansas free men. Other meetings of similar nature were held in Northern Illinois and in all, more than a million dollars was given to this cause. The *Tribune* took an advanced position in this warlike preparation.

The 1856 presidential campaign was a sort of warm-up for the 1858 campaign in Illinois. The Republican party made a determined start. In Chicago it had the support of the *Tribune*, the *Journal*, and the *Staats-Zeitung*. General Frémont headed the Republican ticket, on which Lincoln had received 110 votes for vice-president. Douglas came to the help of his party here. Lincoln and Trumbull opposed him.

When the vote was counted in the fall it was found that James Buchanan had too much strength in Central and Southern Illinois and that John C. Frémont had been beaten in the state as well as in the nation. Yet Bissell and Hoffman carried the state and so ushered in the first Republican administration in Springfield. The *Tribune* said that the election spelled ultimate disaster for the Democrats. Lincoln now set his plans for the senatorial race two years later. During the 1856 " canvass," as campaigns were then called, he had made over fifty speeches. He told Scripps in 1860 that he could not remember that any one of them was put into print, a peculiar fact which indicated either poor journalism or slight regard for Lincoln on the part of editors — probably a little of both.

In an address made at Kalamazoo on August 17, 1856, that was later found to have been printed, Lincoln said that the

extension of slavery was the sole question before the country. He appealed to Democrats and all lovers of liberty and equality to "come and keep coming! Strike and strike again! So sure as God lives the victory shall be ours."

His speech reflected an attitude, a belief, and a method, which the *Tribune* editors were to adopt during the next terrible decade.

Chapter Thirteen

THE *TRIBUNE'S* FIRST DECADE ENDS

In 1857, a year of financial storms and political uncertainty, the *Tribune* emerged, its editors declared, as "an institution — a power in the land." The daily circulation at the time was 4,000, the tri-weekly 800 and the weekly 8,000.

During the year the paper was reduced one column in size, making it 26 by 39 inches. News was more plentiful and was given a more attractive setting, with several columns sometimes appearing on the first page.

Dr. Ray was elected a state trustee of the Illinois and Michigan Canal on January 23. The *Tribune* attacked a feature of the new city charter which made the mayor responsible for enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law.

"Never let it be included in the fundamental law of the city of Chicago," said the *Tribune*, "that its mayor is compelled to be a bloodhound to chase and seize and return to bondage men and women fleeing to the land of liberty."

J. C. Vaughan retired from membership in the *Tribune* firm during the year, and sometime during this year, or early

in 1858, Ray, Medill, and Cowles purchased the interests of Timothy Wright and J. D. Webster and became the exclusive proprietors of the paper.

The *Democratic Press* was attacked as a mean and cowardly sheet, while the *Press* retaliated by calling the *Tribune* the organ of a set of sharpers and brokers. This was a reflection of a war over the banking interests and wildcat money, on which the *Tribune* took a firm stand from the first.

The *Tribune* was opposed to the nomination of "Long John" Wentworth for mayor that spring and set about the work of organizing Republican clubs. A Republican convention was held in Metropolitan Hall on March 2, with Lincoln as one of the party orators. At this convention Wentworth was nominated.

"A. Lincoln," said the *Tribune*, "made, as he always makes, a sensible and excellent speech. He was most enthusiastically welcomed."

The *Tribune* then announced its support of Wentworth and hailed his election as an indication that "Chicago is sound to the core."

The Dred Scott decision handed down by Chief Justice Roger B. Taney had a profound effect on the political plans of this year. Under this decision a Negro was made chattel property and slave owners were allowed to take their slaves where they pleased, even into free territory. Republican editors everywhere were quick to take up this new threat. The *Tribune* said on March 11 that the Dred Scott case made government powerless in territories, that slavery was carried by the Constitution under this theory. Thus the Douglas principle of squatter sovereignty was rendered ineffective, the paper said. On March 17 it published the Taney decision in full, an unusual journalistic effort. The next day it presented the dissenting opinion of Associate Justice John McLean.

"The remedy," said the *Tribune* on March 19, "is union and action; the ballot box. Let free states have a unit in Con-

gress on the side of freedom. Let the next President be a Republican and 1860 will mark an era kindred with that of 1776 and the country and the Constitution be ruled and considered by men kindred in American principles with Washington, Jefferson and the Fathers."

The *Tribune* took the opportunity furnished by the Taney decision to spread Republican gospel and incidentally to increase the paper's circulation. The appeal was made to Democrats who were outraged by the Dred Scott decision to come out from that party, the same appeal that Lincoln had made during the campaign. The Democratic party, it was argued, had been turned away from the love of liberty. One of the agents sent through Illinois at the time got more than 1,000 subscribers for the *Tribune*. Clubs were formed to expedite the distribution of solid Republican newspapers.

The paper at this time was also engaged in a war with Alderman-Publisher Bross over the public printing. The *Democratic Press* under Scripps and Bross had turned Republican in the 1856 campaign, and the *Tribune* declared that this printing struggle was not a Republican war at all.

"We were in at the birth of the Republican party," the editors of the *Tribune* said. "We helped to nurse it in infancy — we love it. But we love it because of the great mission of mercy and justice it has yet to perform and therefore we should suffer any pain or penalty rather than weaken or injure the cause."

When Editor Vaughan retired from the paper to enter the practice of law, it was stated that he was one of the original antislavery men of the West, although born in South Carolina.

In a card of announcement published in the *Tribune*, Vaughan wished the newspaper success. He referred to it as the paper which had steadfastly upheld the Republican cause when it was feeble and needed friends, and stated that it had assisted in redeeming the state and had labored hard for the city.

Lincoln was reported in the paper as registered at the Tremont House on May 23.

On May 28 the *Tribune* opened a new counting room on the ground floor at 51 Clark Street. Hard times were reported in the paper, which held, however, that this was only a temporary setback. Senator Douglas gave ten acres of land on the south side near the Lake and Thirty-fifth Street to the first University of Chicago. That became the site of the old University campus.

On June 10, when the paper was entering its eleventh volume, it proclaimed that Chicago had multiplied sevenfold in business and wealth during the previous decade.

"Then [in 1847] it did not have a mile of railroad. Now it has enough to reach to London. Today Chicago is the largest and most prosperous city in the St. Lawrence valley, third in population, first in commerce. The sign is still onward until the last rival in the race for greatness is left behind. The *Tribune* is an institution and a power in the land. Whatever may be the progress in Chicago and the West, it is bound to keep 'neck and girth' with their movement."

On June 17 the Springfield correspondent reported that Senator Douglas was in town preparing for the senatorial canvass, and the paper added:

"It will be fought as no canvass was ever fought in Illinois. Desperation is the motive power of iron-ball Democracy. Liberty and justice are the inspiring motive force and powers of Republicans. Mr. Lincoln is now in Bloomington. He will soon appear here [in Springfield] to address the citizens. It will be an answer to Douglas and such a one as Douglas' friends will not want to hear. All persons who know these two men know that Lincoln is more than Douglas' equal, politically or legally – head or heart, yes, in any relation. Lincoln is for justice, Douglas for slavery; the first for right, the second for might."

This is a fair sample of the partisan reporting of the time.

Lincoln's Springfield speech, delivered on June 26, appeared in a synopsis on the 29th for about half a column. On June 30 it was printed in full, evidently furnished by Lincoln through the mail. This address stirred wide interest. Medill, in a letter to Schuyler Colfax, Indiana politician, said that the Kansas situation would never be settled until the border ruffians had been thoroughly smashed and that sentiment in Illinois was for men and money to support the people of Kansas in their right to self-government.

That the prize of the presidency was at stake, at least for Senator Douglas, was declared by the *Tribune* in an editorial on July 7, captioned "Mephistophiles." The occasion was the cornerstone laying at the University of Chicago.

"That such a man should entertain any well grounded hopes for the Presidency is a melancholy comment on the deterioration of American character."

Chicago held its first sailing regatta on the Lake that year. The railroad ran north as far as Lake Forest, then the seat of Lind University, and the *Tribune* reported the north shore as "becoming lined with cottages embowered in elaborate comfort."

It was during this year that the photograph by Alexander Hesler, called "The Awakened Lincoln," was taken in Chicago. The story is that some of the boys around the courthouse wanted his picture and that Lincoln consented. Medill is said to have been with Lincoln on this occasion. Lincoln did not like the way the photographer smoothed his hair and so ran his fingers through it.

The attitude of the *Tribune* editors of the period toward moral and social delinquency is shown by their treatment of police items as follows:

"A poor looking coot named Edward Daly was fined $1 and sent 10 days to the Bridewell for stealing lumber on a vacant lot near Polk Street. Thomas Tate, a miserable, drunken vagabond, was fined $3 and sent 10 days to the Bridewell."

A book called *God Against Slavery* was given a special advertisement.

Lincoln was often in Chicago during this year and tried one of the most important law cases of his career, the *Effie Afton*, or Rock Island Bridge case. This was begun on September 9 in the Federal Court held in the Saloon Building. The case created deep interest throughout the West, since it had grown out of commercial rivalry between Chicago and St. Louis. The steamer *Effie Afton* had struck the bridge over the Mississippi at Rock Island and the question at law was one of damages, also whether the bridge was a menace to navigation, as the St. Louis interests contended. Chicago wanted the bridge for its growing east-west commerce.

The *Tribune*, as a matter of journalistic enterprise, reported the full proceedings each day of the trial, giving three and four columns to it and putting it often on the first page. The most distinguished members of the bar in the country were represented in the counsel on both sides of the case. The jury disagreed eleven to one which was practically a verdict for the Lincoln side. The reports of the case ran as follows:

> Court met pursuant to adjournment. Mr. A. Lincoln addressed the jury. He said he did not purpose to assail anybody and that he expected to grow earnest as he proceeded, but not ill-natured. There is some conflict of testimony in the case, but such a number of witnesses seldom agree, even if all had been on one side. We are to try to reconcile them and to believe they were not intentionally erroneous as long as we can.

These reports were taken by Robert R. Hitt, a Freeport stenographer hired by Medill after his own failure to get Lincoln's "Lost Speech" at Bloomington. Mr. Hitt years later was to become a leader in the House of Representatives.

The Lincoln statement to the jury reflected an attitude which he was to carry into the presidency.

During recesses of the trial, Lincoln and Orville Browning of Quincy, whom he was to appoint as United States Senator

after the death of Douglas, went to the theatre to see the comedian Burton.

In December, 1857, the Kansas situation again came to a boil. A proslavery constitution was framed at Lecompton and was ratified by a referendum on which chiefly slave settlers and sympathizers voted. The free men of Kansas would not participate. Two weeks later the free men held their own referendum and repudiated the Lecompton constitution. President Buchanan urged Congress to admit Kansas to statehood on the Lecompton basis.

Now Senator Douglas took a surprising course. He broke with the administration over the Lecompton issue, declaring that Kansas had a right to a free and fair referendum and that this constitution should not be shoved down the state's throat. He thus alienated the Buchanan Democrats and the Southern politicians of his party, and put himself in a position to get Republican votes in the senatorial election of 1858. This was a situation which caused the *Tribune* editors much worry. Even Horace Greeley thought that Douglas was entitled to help from antislavery men. Medill thought that Douglas was possible as a Republican convert and that he might be so used. Dr. Ray, however, did not have any faith in Douglas, and his attitude seems to have been the one which prevailed in the columns of the paper.

Senator Trumbull and Editor Ray corresponded on this situation. Speaking of Dr. Ray in 1857 Senator Trumbull wrote:

"He is chief editor of the *Chicago Tribune*. He writes that Douglas sent a man to the *Tribune* office to remonstrate against its course toward him 'while he is doing all we want him to do.' Dr. Ray has no faith in him."

Ray wrote to Trumbull on December 18:

"We are almost confounded by his [Douglas'] anomalous position and we do not know how to treat him and his overtures to the Republican party. Personally, I am inclined to give

him the lash, but I want to do nothing that damages our case or hinders emancipation in Kansas."

Chapter Fourteen

THE YEAR OF THE DEBATES

A DECISIVE turning point in the history of the *Tribune* took place in 1858, the year of the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates in seven Illinois cities. The debate news, published extensively by the paper, added to its circulation and prestige, particularly among Republicans, but this was not sufficient to overcome the financial troubles of the year. Hard times continued and the *Tribune* suffered with other businesses in Chicago. A way out was sought and was found.

The *Democratic Press*, owned by Alderman William Bross, John L. Scripps, and Barton W. Spears, was also in financial trouble, although it had done a business of $111,508 during the year. It had an establishment at 45 Clark Street with ten power presses and an editorial force of six persons. The two papers were about equal in circulation and in the summer of 1858 they decided to join forces.

Consolidation of the *Tribune* and the *Democratic Press* into a paper to be called the *Chicago Press and Tribune* was announced on July 1. Scripps became senior editor. James F. Ballantyne of *The Press* became commercial editor and Henry Martyn Smith, Amherst graduate, lawyer, and former *Journal* man, was made city editor, remaining in this position through the Civil War period. The reasons for the merger were given in the *Tribune* as follows:

WILLIAM BROSS

Known far and wide in the early days of Illinois as "the Deacon." He became one of the editors of the Tribune *in 1858. He was a scientist, who sought to reconcile religion with science, and who pioneered in the development of the Far West. Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois from 1865 to 1869.*

"To put an end to the expensive rivalry which had been kept up; to lay the foundations deep and strong of a public journal, which will become one of the established institutions of Chicago; to enable us to combat more powerfully, and, we trust more successfully, public abuses; to give us a wider influence in public affairs, in behalf of sound morality and a just Government, we have become parties to the arrangement announced above."

Readers were assured that the consolidated paper would give "steady, zealous and consistent support . . . to the great cardinal doctrines of the Republican party."

Although business improved and much strength was added to the new paper, which was enlarged by the addition of one column to each page, financial troubles multiplied.

Lincoln was defeated for the senatorship by Douglas in the November election, and three days later the *Press and Tribune* [1] called its creditors together and made an assignment to them. The creditors were convinced that all the paper needed was time to meet its obligations of $65,000. Three years was given to accomplish this end. Within the next twenty-one months the paper had paid off its debts, with 10 per cent interest, had moved into the Press Building at an expense of $8,000 and had met all current expenses. Never thereafter was it in financial difficulty. Spears retired from the firm at this time.

William Bross, who thus became the latest of the important members of the *Tribune* family, was a strong Presbyterian of the old school, with fierce whiskers and firm thoughts. He was known far and wide as "The Deacon."

Bross was a graduate of Williams College. He had come to Chicago in 1846 from his New York state home, traveling by stage and lake steamer, a young man in search of fortune.

[1] For two years and four months, until November, 1860, the full name of the paper was *Press and Tribune*. In this text the paper will continue to be called the *Tribune* except where the combination name is used in quotations. After Lincoln's election the name *Press* was dropped from the logotype heading.

Thus far his life had been hard and stern. His boyhood had been spent on the farm and in lumber camps with his father. He taught school in New England and then had come to Chicago to go into the book-selling business. He rented a house on Wabash Avenue between Adams and Jackson for $12 a month. He told later that his cow was often lost in the wooded country around Twelfth Street.

An inveterate traveler, Bross had a boundless faith in the West. He also had a strong scientific bent and explored the Chicago region and the Far West from a geological standpoint. He spoke frequently before the Chicago Academy of Sciences and addressed the American Association for the Advancement of Science on immortality and evolution. There is still a Bross Fund at Lake Forest College which offers a prize of $15,000 at stated intervals for the best book reconciling Christian doctrine with science. Bross was also active in politics, and served as alderman and later as lieutenant-governor of Illinois. He had come to the Republican party from the Free-Soil group. He was a trusted friend of Lincoln.

Horace White, of the combined staff, was also a friend of Lincoln. He had met him first in Springfield when he reported Lincoln's speech there in 1854. White was then twenty years old. He wrote later of the Lincoln of this period. Writing of his first impression of Lincoln, he said:

"It was a marked face but so overshadowed with sadness that I thought that Shakespeare's Melancholy Jacques had been transplanted from the Forest of Arden to the capital of Illinois. Yet when I was presented to him and we began a few words of conversation this expression of sorrow dropped from him instantly. His face lighted up with a winning smile, and where I had a moment before seen only leaden sorrow I now beheld a keen intellect, genuine kindness of heart, and the promise of true friendship."

White met Lincoln frequently during the next four years and as a reporter for the *Tribune* traveled with him for four

months in 1858. He later went to Washington as correspondent. White had much to do with publicizing one of Lincoln's important speeches, as will be seen later, and William E. Barton, historian, says that without this sort of publicity Lincoln could never have become known beyond Illinois or risen to presidential stature.

"I found myself strongly drawn to him from the first," White wrote. He said that as an antislavery orator Lincoln made a stronger impression on him than Wendell Phillips, Owen Lovejoy, or Henry Ward Beecher.

There were now assembled in the *Tribune* family all the forces that were to guide it through the critical period just ahead, when stout hearts and wise heads were needed. Professor Strevey writes in his manuscript life of Medill and the editors of the *Tribune* of this period:

> They were all young men and imbued with enthusiasm. Ray and Medill were vigorous editorial writers and straightforward in their attitude on controversial questions. The policy of the paper was determined by the reflection of all, and although Ray and Medill dominated the paper and in some cases actually dictated the stand to be taken, the other editors of the firm did their share in editing and managing it. It was a period of great activity and growth. Events were stirring and the *Tribune* was in a strategic position to wield a growing influence in the Northwest. Served by men already versed in politics and backed by convictions which nothing could alter, the *Tribune* was destined to play a conspicuous part in local and national affairs.
>
> . . . Medill was clearly a devout Republican from the beginning and throughout this entire period never deviated from the platform of his party nor from the principles for which it stood. He was intensely partisan and apt to take extreme views. . . . He looked upon the Republican party as the product, in part at least, of his own efforts.

Bross, who became lieutenant governor of Illinois in 1865, says in his *History of Chicago* (page 86):

> The course of the *Tribune* during and before the war was the result of the matured opinions of four independent thinkers and

hence it was always right. With two such honest, able, patriotic and scholarly men as Mr. Scripps and Dr. Ray, not to mention Mr. Medill, with his sharp, discriminating mind, his wide acquaintance with men and things and his acute journalistic and broad common sense, and with whatever I could contribute to the common stock, is it any wonder that the *Tribune* achieved a national reputation? It had the credit, and justly, of bringing out Mr. Lincoln and doing more than any other paper to secure his nomination, and of doing most effective work in his election to the Presidency. During the entire war it never flinched nor faltered for a moment. It led and guided public opinion in the Northwest; inspired confidence amid defeat and disaster; always advocated the most vigorous measures to put down the rebellion; drove the Copperheads to their holes, and to say the least it has probably done as much as any other journal or influence in the country to bring back the peace and the security which it now enjoys. With such men as Scripps and Ray editing and inspiring their own journal, and through it giving right direction to the press of the country, it will indeed ever remain " the palladium of our liberties "; the unflinching foe of all that is false and wicked; be ever ready to use all its influence and its power to promote the social, the intellectual and the moral welfare of the race.

Andreas says in the second volume of his Chicago history:

Ably conducted and edited, enterprising in news-gathering, always partisan, the *Chicago Tribune* during the period of which we now write was the most prominent and successful newspaper in the West. It had the merit of being on the popular side of the great political and social questions of the times. Its constituency was composed of the educated and progressive people of the Northwest, whose sentiments and opinions it reflected ably. . . . During the war it never for one moment faltered in the belief that the Union arms would be successful — never from first to last counseled peace on any other terms than entire submission. It was among the first, if not the very first newspaper to urge emancipation of the slaves.

Chapter Fifteen

MOVING TOWARD THE ISSUE

In the first months of 1858 the *Tribune's* editors, in addition to getting out a newspaper, were engaged in working for the nomination of Lincoln for United States senator against Douglas and in preparation for the campaign that must follow.

The first question was what to do about Douglas and the Kansas situation. The Senator seemed to be stealing some of the Republican thunder in that direction. President Buchanan had sent an army to Kansas to enforce federal authority and fighting was imminent. Douglas had made a strike for the liberal vote by opposing the administration in this move. The *Chicago Times* pictured him as the advocate of democracy and fair play. It is held by some historians that if Lincoln and the Republican group had supported Douglas at that time the war might have been avoided. It was a time of political decisions of far-reaching importance.

Much underground politics went on during the early part of the year; there was much letter writing and talk of a conspiracy on the part of the eastern Republicans to make Douglas their candidate. But Medill and his colleagues were for Lincoln for senator and would listen to no compromise. Their policy was to widen the breach among the Democrats and keep Douglas out of the Republican camp. Lincoln felt that there could be no compromise with slavery, and that it must be halted as a necessary step in humanity's fight for freedom.

As 1858 was ushered in the *Tribune* reported that the earth

was wrapped in a white mantle of newly drifted snow. " The thoughtful hosts of the Tremont House refreshed the numerous attaches of the *Tribune* office at the close of the old year with an abundance of cake, confectionery and the necessary accompaniments, for which due thanks are hereby sent."

The paper of that wintry day was a four-page sheet with want ads, commercial news, city items, and editorials mixed on page 1. News from Kansas was that the people had taken up arms " and are hotly engaged in a hand to hand contest with their oppressors and foes, the government Sepoys."

Many items of miscellaneous interest appeared in the paper:

Three Negroes were traveling up the Missouri River to " the land of freedom."

There was a fire in the First Congregational Church. " The incendiary must have been a most depraved wretch or a horrid bigot."

From Arizona — " The proprietors of certain large mining tracts in the Gadsden Purchase are at the bottom of the movement to have Arizona erected into a territory. These gentlemen want roads built at somebody's expense besides their own." Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes was writing the *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table* and the latest extract was given. Horace Greeley was lecturing on poetry.

Governor Chase of Ohio was praised. " What a pity such a man is not employed to write messages to Congress instead of the facile, weak old doughface at present in the White House," the *Tribune* mourned.

The state of the federal treasury was " nothing encouraging; receipts at the rate of twenty-four millions a year, hardly enough for pin money for the Democratic administration of these days."

The paper contained a notice of the " Tremont Eating Saloon, breakfast 8 to 11, dinner 12:30 to 4, supper 6 to 12."

The same issue announced that a laborer excavating in

Dewey Street had uncovered a mastodon tusk originally eleven feet long.

At the Relief Society offices, 278 Randolph Street, it was reported that "the number of poor who throng the room for help continues unabated. We trust the public generally and those of our citizens who are blessed with plenty will spare something of their abundance to feed the poor of the city who cannot find employment." Norman B. Judd was elected president of the Frémont Club. A young Kentuckian was married in the mayor's office to Agnes Lloyd, "a notorious strumpet of the city."

On January 1 the *Tribune* said: "We believe Douglas Democrats of the Northwest will be found standing shoulder to shoulder with Republicans in the fearful contest which is impending. The great principle of self-government is the issue at stake – in peril. Let all patriotic freemen unite in its defense and preserve the very essence of liberty from being stricken down."

Lincoln came to town on a patent infringement case that spring, and talked over the political situation with Norman B. Judd, Republican leader, Dr. Ray, Joseph Medill, and Ebenezer Peck. Lincoln used to climb the stairs often to the *Tribune* office. Horace White regarded him as a shrewd politician, who knew more than the committeemen did of the feelings of the people. Medill, in addition to his editorial duties, was on the party committee that year to raise funds, and also to look after colonization, the matter of placing voters in the weak counties. Both sides were interested in this strategy, but it later developed that the Democrats had more money to put into it.

Dr. Ray, in writing to Senator Trumbull on March 9, said:

"I take it that it is a foregone conclusion that Abraham Lincoln will be the next Republican candidate for Mr. Douglas' seat and that he will occupy it if we have a majority. The war here among the partisans of Douglas and Buchanan has commenced in good earnest. It is my conviction that in six months

Douglas will not have 1,000 followers in Chicago, if he can boast of even half that number."

On April 21 the *Tribune* suggested that if Douglas joined the Republicans he might be given a cabinet position with the next Republican president, but as for senator, Lincoln was the choice of the party and the hope of victory.

Lincoln wrote to Congressman Washburne on April 26 as follows:

> Several of our friends were down here from Chicago, and they had something of the same story amongst them, some half suspecting you were half inclined to favor Douglas, and others thinking there was an effort to wrong you. I thought neither was the case, that the whole had originated in some misconception coupled with a high degree of sensitiveness on their part, and that the whole matter was not worth another moment's consideration. Such is my opinion now. I hope you have no concern about it. I have written because Charley Wilson told me he was writing you and because I suspect Dr. Ray [who was a little excited about the matter] had also written you; and because I think I, perhaps, have taken a calmer view of the thing than they may have done.

Lincoln's political wisdom seems to have exceeded that of the *Tribune* editors at this point for he wrote to Washburne on May 27:

> Political matters just now bear a very mixed and incongruous aspect. For several days signs have been that Douglas and the President have probably buried the hatchet — Douglas' friends at Washington going over to the President's side, and his friends here and south of here talking as if there never had been any serious difficulty, while the President himself does nothing for his own peculiar friends here.
>
> But this morning my partner, Mr. Herndon, received a letter from Mr. Medill of the *Chicago Tribune*, showing the writer to be in great alarm at the prospect north of the Republicans going over to Douglas, on the idea that Douglas is going to assume steep Free Soil ground and furiously assail the administration on the stump when he comes home. There certainly is a double game being played somehow. Possibly, even probably, Douglas is temporarily deceiving the President in order to crush out the 8th of

June convention here. Unless he plays his double game more successfully than we have ever seen done, he cannot carry many Republicans north without at the same time losing a larger number of his old friends south.

Let this be confidential, Yours, as ever

A. L.

A photograph of Lincoln taken in Chicago in 1858 shows him holding in his hands a copy of the *Press and Tribune*, as it was then called. The story of the picture is that Lincoln, in the city on a law case, dined with Isaac N. Arnold, later a congressman and one of his strong supporters, and Colonel George Schneider, editor of the *Staats-Zeitung*. The Colonel's presence had political significance, for it was reported that year that the Germans were coming into the Republican party. The three men had dined at Arnold's house and on the way downtown after the mid-day meal Colonel Schneider asked Lincoln to stop and have his picture taken. They stopped at the gallery of an itinerant daguerreotype artist. The name of the paper Lincoln is holding shows clearly in the photograph, a copy of which is in the library of the Lincoln Research Institute of Fort Wayne, Indiana, of which Dr. Louis Warren is director.

Something of the temper of the *Tribune* editors is shown by the way in which they came to the defense of the pastor of the South Presbyterian Church in January of that year. An effort was reported to " drum him from the church and city because he chose in 1856 to exercise his political rights."

The *Tribune* aided a donation party for the pastor and said:

" The day has not yet come in Chicago in which a man of pure character and blameless life may be sacrificed for a quiet and inoffensive expression of his sentiment at the polls; and the gentlemen, lay and clerical, who have engaged in the persecution of the pastor of the South Church will rue the day in which they put their secret juggle in operation."

The Republican state convention at Springfield, June 16,

was an important event for the *Tribune* editors. Mayor Wentworth sought the nomination for senator which the *Tribune* wanted for Lincoln. The editors did not like Wentworth and set about to circumvent him.

The Democrats were badly split, the administration men against the Douglas men. The Republicans declared that Douglas had no claim to their support unless he became a Republican, and set about the task of winning Democrats away from their party. Medill thought it was necessary to nurse the administration Democrats. Ray thought that Lincoln would win easily. State Chairman Judd warned that Lincoln would have trouble.

Beveridge tells the story of a caucus held in the state library the night after the Democratic convention, "in which Lincoln, Judd, and two members of the *Tribune* firm, Ray, and Bross, laid plans to thwart Mr. Wentworth."

These plans were carried out when the convention met.

Cook County marched into the hall carrying a banner reading "Cook County is for Lincoln." On motion of a delegate this was made the occasion of a resolution declaring that "Illinois is for Lincoln."

"Great Republican State Convention — Every Man for Lincoln," reported the *Tribune* in emphatic headlines on June 18.

The story of the meeting, probably written by Horace White, began as follows:

> Sound the loud timbrel o'er Egypt's dark sea.
> Jehovah has triumphed; His people are free.

"As I close this letter," the correspondent wrote, "Mr. Lincoln is addressing an immense crowd. I will send a full report of his speech."

The full report, two columns, came in by mail and was published on June 19, with the comment that it was one of the most statesmanlike and masterly addresses ever given by man. All loyal Republicans were urged by the *Tribune* to "make the campaign one worthy of the principles of the party by

ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN 1858

This photograph was taken in Chicago at the request of Colonel George Schneider by an itinerant daguerreotypist. Reproduced from a copy in the library of the Lincoln Research Institute, Fort Wayne, Indiana, by courtesy of Dr. Louis Warren, Director.

overthrowing the one man responsible for disrupting national affairs."

"So far as Mr. Lincoln is concerned," the *Tribune* said, "the speech may be taken as the groundwork of the campaign."

This was the famous "house divided speech," which Lincoln had prepared in advance and which he had shown to Herndon and others. Herndon told him it would make him president. Others thought that it was too radical and would be bad for his political chances.

"The time has come when these sentiments should be uttered," said Lincoln, according to Paul M. Angle's edition of Herndon's *Life of Lincoln* (page 326), "and if it is decreed that I should go down because of this speech, then let me go down linked to the truth — let me die in the advocacy of what is just and right."

The paragraph of the speech that became famous was as follows:

"A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe that this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved — I do not expect the house to fall — but I do expect it will cease to be divided."

Chapter Sixteen

REPORTING THE DEBATES

THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS debates and the *Tribune's* close relationship to them as reporter and commentator, marked the newspaper's most significant year prior to the presidential cam-

paign of 1860 and the war years themselves. The reports of those debates in the summer and fall of 1858 increased the paper's prestige in the matter of news coverage and at the same time laid the groundwork for the presidential campaign of 1860. The paper's accounts of the debates were later used by Lincoln in the campaign, and the letters of Horace White went into the historical record of the period. White wrote the leads and descriptive stories of the seven debates.

The campaign began in June. The *Chicago Times* attacked Lincoln on his Mexican War record in Congress and the *Tribune* came to Lincoln's defense. Medill had written to Lincoln for the facts and had said that the Mexican War was a conflict in the interests of Southern politicians.

Lincoln wrote to Medill the latter part of June, furnishing him with his full voting record on war measures and telling him to use the material as he thought best. Lincoln also wrote to Scripps on June 23 from Springfield, as follows:

" I have declared a thousand times, and now repeat, that in my opinion neither the general government nor any other power outside of the slave states, can constitutionally or rightfully interfere with slaves or slavery where it already exists. I believe that wherever efforts to spread slavery into new territory, by whatever means, and into free states themselves by Supreme Court decisions, shall be fairly headed off, the institution will then be in the course of ultimate extinction; and by the language used I mean only this. I do not intend this for publication, but still you may show it to anyone you think fit. I think I shall, as you suggest, take some early occasion to repeat the declaration I have already so often made, as before stated."

This is an indication of the trend of the presidential campaign which was developed out of this senatorial campaign, a trend away from the " fanatical," or radical, side to conservatism.

On June 28 the *Tribune* noted that "The *Chicago Times* devotes another column to calling Lincoln a dog."

On July 5 the *Tribune* reprinted an item on the Illinois Republican convention from the *New Orleans Delta*, as follows:

> Grand convocation of fanatics, Black Republicans of Illinois. Somebody named Lincoln, who in the eyes of his friends is an unshorn Samson of the Free Soilers, was the choice for the United States Senate. The *Chicago Tribune*, that honest Iago of a journal which supported Lane of Kansas, though knowing him to be one of the greatest knaves in the Union, grows jubilant on the doings of the convention. . . .
>
> The canting Puritan [Cromwell] would yield the palm of impiety to the man of the *Tribune* who proclaims that the negro stealers of Illinois are the people of Jehovah. The sentiments uttered by speakers show unalterable hostility to slavery and a determination to drive the knife into the lungs of the South.
>
> Everywhere in the West, anti-slavery leaders survey the field, raise themselves in their stirrups and swing high the black banner, confident of success in the great battle of 1860.

The senatorial campaign opened in Chicago on the evening of July 9 with an address by Senator Douglas made from the balcony of the Tremont House. Douglas had been hooted out of Chicago two years before, but his change in tactics, his stand for a free vote in Kansas, had won back many friends and he was stronger than before.

The *Tribune* reported this speech on July 10, telling of the triumphal procession, music, militia, riots around Douglas, horses running wild — a three-and-a-half column story on page 1. Extra copies were advertised. Publication of this speech the next morning was a news feat unexampled in the West and plainly mortifying to the rival *Times*.

"The Hon. A. Lincoln will reply to Senator Douglas this evening," the *Tribune* said editorially. "His speech will be a masterly dissection and exposure of the many sophistries and

misrepresentations crowded into that of Judge Douglas. Let everybody turn out to hear him."

Douglas had made the most of Lincoln's "house divided" stand and said that it meant sectional war, while he stood for self-government. Let the people decide for themselves on slavery, as they decide the liquor question, said Douglas, and all will be well.

The Lincoln speech, made from the same hotel balcony, was reported on July 12, in four columns on page 1. There was the usual dispute over the number of people at the rival meetings. The *Times* said that 30,000 had heard Douglas; the *Tribune* said 12,000, admitting that the Lincoln crowd was smaller, but declaring it was four times as enthusiastic. The German Club from the Seventh Ward marched to the Lincoln meeting in a body, creating a sensation. Lincoln made a direct appeal to this vote.

"I leave you," said Lincoln, "hoping that the lamp of liberty will burn in your bosoms until there shall no longer be any doubt that all men are created free and equal."

The *Tribune* said that Lincoln had "demolished Douglas; knocked him higher than a kite."

Both speeches were printed in the *Weekly Tribune* of that date and sent out over the state. The *Tribune* said that this was for the good of the cause, as the "comparison of speeches would show Lincoln's masterly refutation of Douglas' points."

What was called a proslavery partisan telegraph report was complained of by the *Tribune* on July 16. The agent of the Associated Press,[1] it was stated, had sent on a synopsis of the Douglas speech of one half a column, strongly partisan, and only a five-line notice of the Lincoln speech.

"The agent is utterly worthless," said the *Tribune*. "We wish to know how long this pro-slavery partisan of Douglas and the Union line is to be imposed on the Newspapers Association."

[1] Not to be confused with today's organization of the same name.

This was the beginning of a campaign started by Medill to take control of the Associated Press away from the East and make it a nonpartisan institution, one that would be fair to the West.

On the same day the *Tribune* informed the *Times* that it had no intention of " abolishing the Supreme Court " as a result of the Dred Scott case.

" We propose to abide by it as law-sustaining men until the force of public sentiment, appointment of other and more honest and abler judges as vacancies occur, or some sudden and now unexpected conversions of those now on the bench make a reversal of the Dred Scott iniquity possible."

The test of the new ocean telegraph had failed at that time and the *Tribune* said that it was only a matter of time when this obstacle would be overcome. " Science will yet conquer all obstacles," the *Tribune* observed.

On July 22 the *Tribune* announced that it would publish a campaign paper at cost until election. The price would be forty cents until November 6.

" Shall we have the noble and true Lincoln as associate of the gallant and faithful Trumbull? Shall this state be represented in the councils of the nation on the side of freedom or on the side of slavery? "

After his Chicago speech Lincoln remained in town a few days planning his campaign with Norman B. Judd and his other advisers, including the *Tribune* editors. Douglas had prepared an intensive campaign in the doubtful central counties and Lincoln prepared to follow him. This trailing position, however, did not suit Lincoln's friends and on July 26 the *Tribune* said:

" We understand that the Republican state central committee have requested or will shortly request Mr. Douglas to canvass the state in company with Mr. Lincoln in order that both speakers may address the people on the same platform on the same day. This is the usual, almost universal style of

conducting western campaigns and it is justly held that the candidate who refuses to speak in that way had no better reason than cowardice for declining the challenger."

Douglas and his friends at first objected. Their plans and dates had been made, they said. The *Tribune* kept after Douglas every day, taunting him into acceptance, calling him "an arrant coward." "Finally the *Chicago Press and Tribune* forced the issue," Beveridge writes in his life of Lincoln (Vol. 4, page 267).

On August 3 letters were exchanged between Lincoln and Douglas setting the dates for the seven joint debates, to begin August 21 at Ottawa. Lincoln went into retirement for two weeks to prepare his speeches. On August 17 Lincoln began his campaign at Beardstown and for the next three months Illinois was the scene of a prolonged debate, accentuated by the seven joint discussions.

The *Tribune* engaged Robert R. Hitt to take down the debates in shorthand. Medill had decided after Bloomington that there would be no more "Lost Speeches." Albert Shaw in *Abraham Lincoln* (page 198) says that "it is largely to his [Hitt's] stenographic skill that we owe, as a great boon, our authentic record of the most famous of all forensic discussions."

White traveled with Lincoln continually. Medill and Bross attended the Freeport and other debates, and Ray and Scripps were at others. The *Tribune* editors made this campaign their personal as well as newspaper business.

"Following the policy which had been adopted at the beginning," writes Strevey, "the *Tribune* carried the fight to the people. It was soon recognized as the most powerful Republican journal in the West and, due to the publication of the debate and speeches, it gained in both popularity and subscribers. All the members of the firm took an active part in the campaign and Lincoln later acknowledged that, without the support of the Chicago paper, he would have been overwhelmed."

Dr. William E. Barton also notes that the *Tribune* reports were clear and well expressed and says that without such support Lincoln could hardly have become well known outside the state. It was later, however, that the full importance of these and other publications were to have a cumulative effect in swelling the Lincoln presidential boom.

On August 17, the day of Lincoln's speech at Beardstown, the *Tribune* announced the completion of the Atlantic cable.

"Glory to God in the highest. On earth, peace and good will toward men," was the message sent across the waters to England.

The *Tribune* correspondence from the country towns during this period was all strongly pro-Lincoln in tone.

On August 21 the *Tribune* said on the first page:

"The gallant Lincoln will enter the lists at Ottawa today with Douglas. The meeting will be a memorable one, and the first of the present debating campaign. A large delegation will be in attendance from this city, leaving here by 8 a.m. train, Chicago and Rock Island railway and returning this evening. Let there be a good attendance of our Republicans. The *Tribune* of Monday will contain a full stenographic verbatim report on the speeches of Lincoln and Douglas. Let all who can be present to hear the champions, and all who can't should read and judge for themselves."

Lincoln's appeal at Beardstown for a return to the Declaration of Independence made a deep impression on the *Tribune* editors.

"We envy not any man whose heart is not stirred to its profoundest depths by Lincoln's appeal for a return to the doctrines held by the Fathers of the American Revolution," the *Tribune* said.

Herndon in his *Life of Lincoln* (page 340) gives as a specimen of Lincoln oratory in 1858 the speech delivered at Beardstown on August 12.

One of the newspaper men [Horace White] who heard this majestic oration wrote me as follows:

"The apostrophe to the Declaration of Independence to which you refer was written by myself from a vivid recollection of Mr. Lincoln's speech at Beardstown. . . . On the day following the delivery of the speech, as Mr. Lincoln and I were proceeding by steamer from Beardstown to Havana, I said to him that I had been greatly impressed by his concluding remarks of the day previous, and that if he would write them out for me I felt confident their publication would be highly beneficial to our cause as well as honorable to his own fame. He replied that he had but a faint recollection of any portion of the speech; that, like all his campaign speeches, it was necessarily extemporaneous; and that its good or bad effect depended upon the inspiration of the moment. He added that I had probably over-estimated the value of the remarks referred to. In reply to my question whether he had any objection to my writing them out from memory and putting them in the form of a verbatim report, he said, 'None at all.' I accordingly did so. I felt confident then and I feel equally assured now that I transcribed the peroration with absolute fidelity as to ideas and commendable fidelity as to language. I certainly aimed to reproduce his exact words and my recollection of the passage as spoken was very clear. After I had finished writing I read it to Mr. Lincoln. When I had finished the reading he said, 'Well, those are my views and if I said anything on the subject I must have said substantially that, but not nearly so well as that is said.' . . . Having secured his assent to the publication, I forwarded it to our paper, but inasmuch as my report of the Beardstown meeting had been already mailed I incorporated the remarks on the Declaration of Independence in my letter from Lewiston two or three days subsequently. . . . I have seen the peroration resuscitated again and again and published [with good effect, I trust] in the newspapers of this country and England."

The *Tribune* gave much of its space to this report of the Beardstown speech.

The report of the first joint debate at Ottawa was printed on August 23. It was held on the 21st. Twelve thousand were reported present. "Dred Scott Champion Pulverized" was the *Tribune* headline. "Lincoln Breaks Down – Douglas Skins

the Living Dog," was the *Times* headline. Seven columns on the first page of the *Tribune* were given to this report and a column on the fourth and last page. There was a half-column lead telling of the procession and crowds and that the reporters were nearly crushed on the platform.

" A lie, a lie," said the *Tribune* regarding a set of abolitionist resolutions which Douglas read and attributed to the Republicans in state convention in 1854. It was shown that the resolutions were from an Aurora county convention.

The *Tribune* said on August 24 that the *Times* had mangled the Lincoln speech, charging that Douglas and " two Dred Scott lawyers " spent Sunday in doctoring it up. It printed in parallel columns quotes from Lincoln as they appeared in both papers. This charge of changing the speeches was to continue during the campaign. The *Times* said the *Tribune* editors fixed up the Lincoln speeches to make them clear.

The second debate at Freeport was to bring about a situation that affected the whole future course of the campaign, influenced the national situation, and had a good deal to do with the ultimate defeat of Douglas and the alienation of the South.

Medill traveled on the special train of seventeen cars that carried Lincoln and the Republicans to Freeport. On the way Lincoln showed him a set of questions which he had prepared for Douglas. Medill agreed that these were all good except the second, which he said would give Douglas an advantage. According to Herndon's biography of Lincoln (Albert and Charles Boni edition, page 335) this famous second question was:

" Can the people of the United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution? "

Medill knew that Douglas would reply affirmatively, thus strengthening his new hold on the antislavery sentiment in the

state, perhaps enough to win the election. He was right in this, for Douglas did win the election.

Medill on that day felt so strongly that Lincoln was making a mistake that he told Judd and Washburne of Lincoln's intention and they all tried to talk him out of it in a conference at the hotel before the debate. But Lincoln would not be moved. How far he was looking ahead at this time will never be known, but the following recollection by Medill is significant:

> Two or three days after the election of 1860, learning that the active workers of the Republican party of the state were calling on Mr. Lincoln in Springfield to congratulate him, I concluded to make the same pilgrimage and went down. I walked up to where Mr. Lincoln was holding his levee in the office of Secretary of State. He bent his head down to my ear and said in low tones something like this: "Do you recollect the argument we had on the way to Freeport two years ago on my question that I was going to ask Judge Douglas about the power of squatters to exclude slavery from territories?" And I replied that I recollected it very well. "Now," said he, "don't you think I was right in putting that question to him?" I said, "Yes, Mr. Lincoln, you were, and we were both right. Douglas' reply to that question undoubtedly hurt him badly for the Presidency but it reelected him to the Senate at that time as I feared it would." Lincoln then gave a broad smile and said — "Now I have won the place that he was playing for."

When Lincoln rose to speak in Freeport to the crowd of 15,000 there was an interruption. "Deacon" Bross called out from the back of the crowd:

"Hold on, Lincoln, you can't speak yet. Hitt isn't here and there is no use of your speaking unless the *Tribune* has a report."

"Ain't Hitt here?" asked Lincoln. "Where is he?"

Bross called out: "If Hitt is in this crowd he will please come forward. Is Hitt in the crowd? If he is tell him Mr. Bross of the *Chicago Press and Tribune* wants him to come here on the stand and make a verbatim report for the only paper in

the Northwest that has enterprise enough to publish speeches in full."

The good deacon was getting in a little boosting for the paper of which he was now one of the editors and owners.

Hitt finally called out from the rear that he could not get through the crowd and he was lifted over heads and passed to the platform. Then Lincoln began to speak.

The *Tribune* printed the debate with this comment:

"Well, Mr. Douglas, your agony will soon be over. Only five more debates and you can go back to the obscurity that yawns for you."

This was whistling in the dark, for the editors, particularly Medill, felt that Lincoln was in danger.

The *Tribune* kept watch on Southern reaction and on September 4 printed the first item from a Southern newspaper.

"Is this good Southern doctrine?" this paper wanted to know, commenting on Douglas' reply to the Frémont question, which was that slavery might be kept out or put out of a territory by refusal of local legislative bodies to pass police laws for its protection.

This was the beginning of a wave of Southern resentment against Douglas which caused the national party split and the refusal of the Democratic convention in Charleston to nominate him in 1860.

The *Tribune* printed six columns on the Democratic convention at Springfield and gave full publicity to Douglas' speeches as well as Lincoln's in other towns beside the debate towns. Douglas kept to the center of the state and made one of the hardest fights of his career.

White's letters to the *Tribune* during this period were subsequently collected and published in the second edition of Herndon's *Life of Lincoln.*

Ida Tarbell, in her biography of Lincoln (Vol. 1, page 322), writes that during the Lincoln-Douglas debates the young Republican journalists of the *Press and Tribune* raised the

question as to whether Lincoln could really be a great man.

" Scripps, Hitt, Medill began to ask themselves this question," she writes. Before the end of the campaign letters began to pour in from the East. " Lincoln's friends were exultant," continues Miss Tarbell. " Their favored one was a great man, a ' full-grown man,' as one of them wrote in his paper."

On September 10 the *Tribune* warned against colonization of central Illinois counties by " floaters from the New York Tammany society." It was said that Douglas had raised $50,000 to win. The campaign cost Douglas about $80,000 while Lincoln spent less than $1,000. The *Tribune* editors were keeping a close watch on the doubtful counties also, sending literature " where it would do the most good." Medill was also getting outside speakers to come in.

The third debate at Jonesboro, on September 15 was reported in the *Tribune* of September 17 in ten columns. The Charleston debate of September 18 was reported on September 22 in full. The crowd was estimated at 12,000.

" Great Rout of Douglasites in 7th District. Great Demonstration of Republican Girls of Charleston, Etc., Etc., Etc." was the head.

" The Little Giant is badly blown without coming in sight of the home stretch." An accident in the press room destroyed forms containing this debate after one-third of the editions had been printed and the *Tribune* apologized to those who failed to get the paper.

For the Galesburg debate, staged in the doorway of Knox College, the *Tribune* begged that arrangements be made for the presence of at least six reporters and that chairs and tables be placed so they could not be jarred or overthrown. Interest in the debates was rising and crowds appeared everywhere. The Galesburg debate was published on October 9 in eight columns. The sixth at Quincy and the final debate at Alton, on October 13 and 15 respectively, were given similarly full treatment. The *Tribune* pointed out what were said to be 180 " mu-

tilations " of the report of the Galesburg speech in the *Times*.

" The defeat which Douglas has sustained on the stump will be equaled only by the overthrow which awaits him at the polls," said the *Tribune* of October 9.

On October 25 more indications of fraud were reported.

" AWAKEN, FREEMEN OF ILLINOIS," said the *Tribune*.

It was suggested that vigilance committees be formed against the 2,000 voters distributed in the close counties.

" Arise! Up, men and be at work! "

Lincoln concluded his campaign at Springfield on October 30.

" Lincoln has made a splendid national reputation," said the *Tribune*. " His fame is secure. It cannot, it must not be that the scheme to stifle the voice of the people of Illinois through the ballot box will be suffered to succeed."

On November 2 of that year, the day before the elections, it was reported that ground had been broken for the first horse railroad on State Street.

On November 3 the first election returns were carried in the paper, a quarter of a column on city returns and two columns of telegraph news. Lincoln had carried the city but the state was inconclusive. On November 4 there was still doubt as to the complexion of the legislature which was to select the next senator.

On November 5 the returns showed that Lincoln had won the popular vote, but that Douglas had won the legislature, due to the distribution of voting strength. The apportionment law of Illinois was instrumental in producing 1,000 votes in the northern counties against 750 in the southern part of the state. The state vote was 125,430 for the Republicans to 120,609 for the Douglas Democrats. The Buchanan Democrats got 5,071 votes. Nevertheless, when the legislature met on January 6, 1859, Douglas received fifty-four and Lincoln forty-one votes.

The *Tribune* on November 5 announced the last of its campaign issues at bargain rates and said:

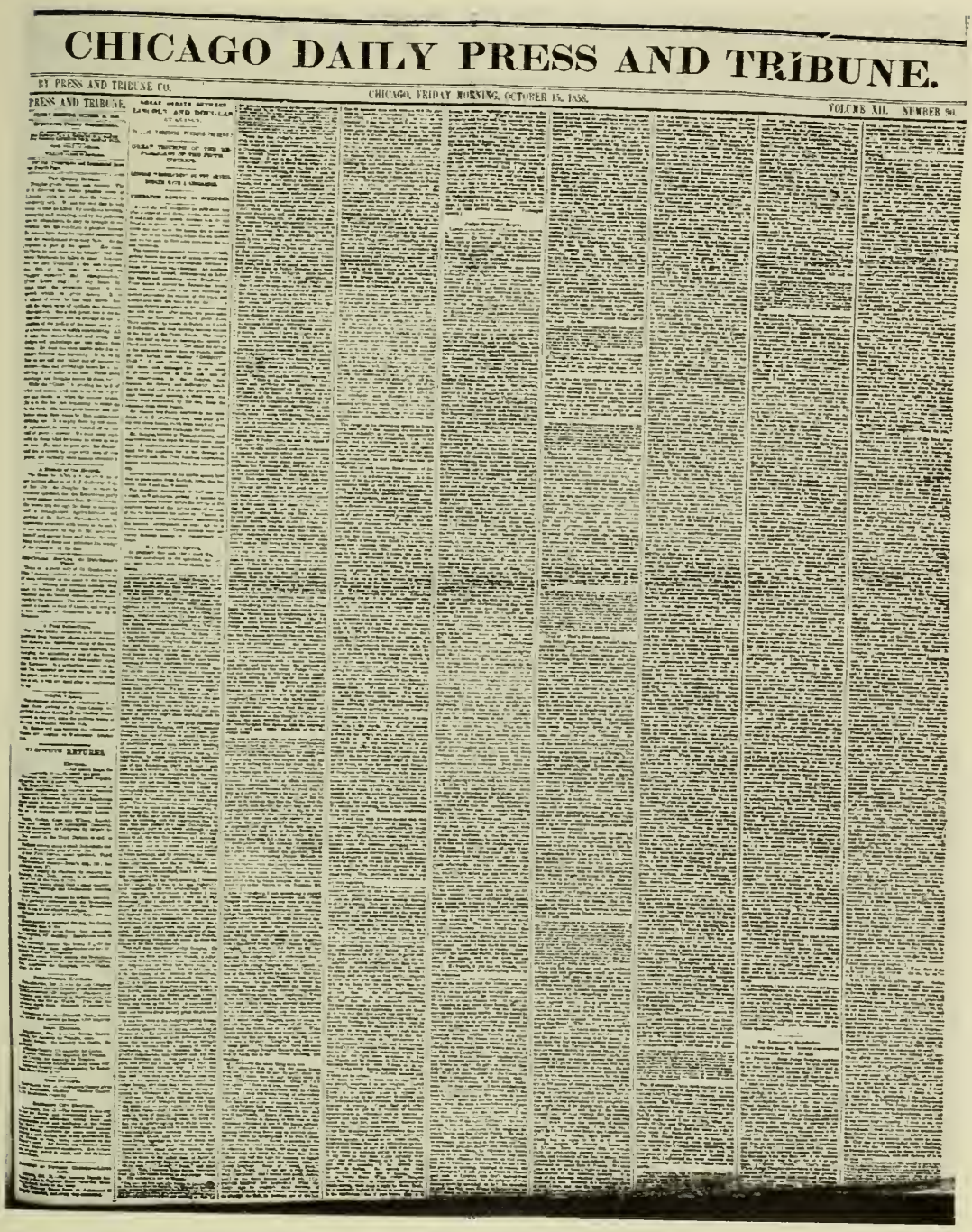
"We are beaten, but not disheartened or overawed. The principles and policy for which we have contended and shall still continue to contend, commend themselves with such convincing power to our judgment and conscience that we cannot be false to them if we would. Now is the time to put the elements of the next and great campaign in motion. We promise nothing except to be true to our profession and to leave nothing undone that will make the *Tribune* worthy of your support."

Chapter Seventeen

THE TREND TOWARD LINCOLN

From the autumn of 1858 to the autumn of 1859 the *Tribune* worked to build up the Republican party and remained noncommittal on the question of presidential candidates. Lincoln's growing availability was recognized and aided, but it was not until November, 1859, apparently, that Joseph Medill came to the conclusion that the rail splitter was the best man to head the ticket in 1860. It had been a waiting year, politically, for the *Tribune*. Meanwhile its editors had decided to make their paper "so good as to defy competition at home or abroad."

"So long as life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are left us," said the *Tribune* on November 5, 1858, setting its course after Lincoln's senatorial defeat, "the Republican party is enlisted with all its energies for the battle of the Right against the Wrong. As John Paul Jones said when asked if he



CHICAGO DAILY PRESS AND TRIBUNE.

BY PRESS AND TRIBUNE CO.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 15, 1858.

VOLUME XII. NUMBER 90.

This first page shows how thoroughly the Tribune *covered the Lincoln-Douglas debates. Stenographic reports of the speeches by Robert R. Hitt were printed in full.*

had struck his colors – 'I have not yet begun to fight.' "

The *Tribune* said in an editorial on November 10, just after the '58 election:

" Mr. Lincoln is beaten. We know of no better time than the present to congratulate him on the memorable and brilliant canvass he has made. He has created for himself a national reputation that is both envied and deserved; and though he should hereafter fill no official station, he has done the cause of Truth and Justice what will always entitle him to the gratitude of his party and the keen admiration of all who respect the high moral qualities, and the keen, comprehensive and sound intellectual gifts he has displayed. His speeches have become landmarks in political history – the principles which comprehend all he has never failed to uphold. Mr. Lincoln at Springfield, at peace with himself because he has been true to his convictions, is more to be envied than Douglas in the senate. Long live Honest Old Abe! "

Albert J. Beveridge, whose political judgment marches with historical research, speaks in his Lincoln biography (Vol. 4, page 196) of the practical work of the 1858 campaign:

" The Republican politicians of Illinois had worked hard to strengthen their party so as to be sure to win in 1858, and their prevision had been highly practical. In order to carry the Legislature, 'we must have *money* and let us *COLONIZE* some four or five districts – and begin now – this fall – without fail – and this must be done – and can be done with money – and the end Justifies the means in this instance,' the Republican Secretary of State had written. . . . The State Committee met at Chicago and State Chairman Judd, Joseph Medill, and a man of the name of Gage were appointed a sub-committee 'with full power' to look after the matter."

Beveridge adds significantly that Lincoln was also in Chicago at this time. On the matter of the joint debates he says:

" They [the Republican managers] insisted that he challenge Douglas to a joint debate. . . . First in Illinois to urge

this aggressive course was Jesse Fell of Bloomington. . . . Finally the *Chicago Press and Tribune* forced the issue."

As to the effect of the debates, Beveridge adds (Vol. 4, page 274) that they "served to advertise Lincoln to the country and thus made possible his nomination for the Presidency — or, rather, added the final and indispensable element which rendered that outcome certain."

Lincoln took his defeat philosophically but there was no indication at that time that he was after higher office. The little *Illinois Gazette* of Lacon, Illinois, had the honor of being the first newspaper to "nominate" Lincoln for president. This was on November 4, 1858. The next day there was a "mass meeting" reported at Sandusky, Ohio, which named Lincoln for this office. The *Cincinnati Gazette* on November 10 printed a letter nominating Lincoln, and on November 11 Wentworth's paper in Chicago suggested Lincoln for governor, president, or vice-president.

Beveridge notes (Vol. 4, page 338) that the *Olney Times* on November 19, 1858, came out for Lincoln for president, "and a month later the *Chicago Press and Tribune* noted that the same suggestion had been made 'in various parts of the country' and believed that an unbroken front on the part of Lincoln's friends at the proper time would make him the candidate in 1860."

It is significant that during this period the *Springfield Journal*, the paper closest to Lincoln and for which he often wrote editorials, made no mention of him as a candidate. That paper mentioned and speculated on other men, and thought that Seward and Douglas were the two least likely. The situation had not changed outwardly from the time of the Springfield convention in the previous summer when the leading candidates, from an Illinois point of view, were Seward, Frémont, John McLean, Salmon P. Chase and Senator Trumbull.

On November 12, 1858, the *Tribune* said regarding the New York papers:

"The *New York Times* is out for Senator Douglas for president in 1860. The *Courier-Enquirer* is out for Seward. The *Herald* advocates the renomination of Buchanan and advises the opposition to unite on General Scott. The *Post* favors the claims of Governor Chase or some Western man. The *New York Tribune* is noncommittal. The *Press and Tribune* thinks it premature to name the presidential candidate, as it is impossible to tell what the year may bring forth, and it is nearly two years yet before the campaign of 1860. Wait patiently until the signs come right."

Three days later the editors said:

"When president-making is in order the Northwest will have something to say. Until then let us have peace in our own ranks."

Wentworth's suggestion of Lincoln for governor at this time was due, it is said, to his own ambition for the Senate. If Lincoln could be made governor, his rival, Judd, would be eliminated for that office and Lincoln would also be out of "Long John's" next senatorial race.

Horace White went East in December of that year and reported in a letter to Senator Trumbull that Douglas was stronger than he had thought. He came to the conclusion that "hardly anything short of an interposition of Providence would prevent Douglas' nomination and election."

As 1859 opened, the political skies were cloudy and uncertain. The course of the *Tribune*, however, had become clearer, and its financial standing became better each month.

It was a year of much underground political work. Senator Seward, who had thought 1856 an unpropitious year for the Republican nomination, was now busy through his manager, Thurlow Weed, New York Republican boss. Governor Chase of Ohio, who had won a senatorial seat, ranked almost with Seward as a prospective candidate. Edward Bates of St. Louis, an old Whig and a conservative, was looked upon by many as the ideal candidate, for the 1858 elections had shown the Re-

publicans the necessity of appearing conservative. The idealism of the early days of the party had passed its crest, and now they were out to win against the administration in power throughout the country. They must break away from the abolitionist stigma, and from the "house-divided" speech of Lincoln. Lincoln himself probably saw this more clearly than anyone else, and in 1859 became more and more conservative in his speeches, until finally some of his first friends in Illinois were antagonized. The Bloomington group, headed by Fell, including Judge David Davis, who was to become Lincoln's convention manager, and Leonard Swett, lawyer friend of Lincoln, urged Lincoln on toward the presidency. The various items in the papers, cumulative in their political importance, encouraged Lincoln to this end, but it was still a goal which he could not quite see for himself. And neither did the *Tribune* editors at this time. They stood for the Republican party and for a Western man and that is as far as they went during most of this year.

Republican party prospects were none too bright as the year opened. The *Rock Islander* and *Argus* said on January 23:

"The message of the Republican party is ended. It never had any enduring vitality. It was born out of the tempest and whirlwind of fanaticism, the work of popular demagogues who vainly sought to rule or ruin."

"President-making is a dangerous and thankless business," said the *Tribune* on March 29. "The day for the nomination of the Republican candidate has not yet arrived. There is harm in premature discussion. The hour and the man will come together."

When the *Tribune* editors finally decided on Lincoln as the best candidate, the most likely winner for their party, it was for the highest goal that they struck. Lincoln talk was making headway slowly and there were efforts to sidetrack this possible dark-horse candidate into the vice-presidency.

Medill declares that at one stage in the long campaign Lin-

coln asked him if "you *Tribune* boys have not got me up a peg too high," if the vice-presidency would not do. Medill told him, he said, that the *Tribune* would not waste its energy and resources on anything but the presidency, and urged Lincoln to discourage any vice-presidential talk, which Lincoln did.

The Republican local ticket was victorious in Chicago in March and the party leaders were encouraged. The city was surging ahead and the paper was growing with it. Henry Ward Beecher, writing of Chicago in 1859, said:

"Chicago looks like a vast railroad freight depot, and the people have that keen-eyed, restless, penetrating look that belongs to railroad men. One is struck with the magnitude, not only of its stores and business structures but at the remarkably fine architectural effects which every day are ennobling the streets. Buff Milwaukee brick, with limestone, gives cheerfulness. On various levels men are jacking up old buildings. It is worth a visit to Chicago to see a new method of digging a city out of the mud."

The Republicans were victorious in Springfield's local election in April of that year, as "Sangamon" reported in the *Tribune*.

"We are more proud of this victory because it has been achieved in the home of Mr. Lincoln, Republican standard bearer in last fall's campaign. Five years ago Mr. Lincoln started out in this city, almost solitary and alone, as defender of the Republican party and the Republican faith. The building up of his party in this latitude was attended by many difficulties, but the work though gradual has been sure. We need but a few more energetic and persevering battles to win us an undivided state and national victory."

The *Tribune* on April 28 called attention to the fact that a letter which Lincoln had sent to the Jefferson birthday celebration in New York had not been printed with other letters from prominent men in the *New York Tribune*.

"Sufficient for us is the omission, a part and parcel of the policy which the *New York Tribune* has pursued toward one of the ablest and purest Republicans in the Union, since he dared oppose the nominee of that sheet for United States Senator in Illinois."

A page-1 editorial on that day on the contest of 1860 gave this analysis:

"Principle alone gives us 121 members in the lower branch and 24 in the Senate in a party four years old. The standard must not, will not be lowered. In the platform nothing that has aided in rendering the Republican party so powerful and triumphant must be ignored. In the selection of standard bearers men must be chosen heartily in sympathy with its distinctive principles. The coming contest is a contest of principle rather than policy. The central and vitalizing truth of the Declaration of Independence, as well as of the Republican organization, is the natural and inalienable right of all men to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It is the mission of the Republican party to stand by and maintain this great self-evident truth and make it practical within the sphere of the federal government."

On June 1 it was noted that Mr. Lincoln was in the city.

On June 15 the *Tribune* editors received the following letter from Springfield where Lincoln had returned to his law practice:

Press and Tribune Co.

Gentlemen:

Herewith is a little draft to pay for your paper another year from today. I suppose I shall take *The Press and Tribune* so long as it, and I both live, unless I become unable to pay for it. In its devotion to our cause always, and to me personally, last year, I owe it a debt of gratitude which I fear I shall never be able to pay.

Yours very truly,
A. Lincoln.

On July 13 the *Tribune* warned the friends of Senator William Pitt Fessendon of Maine against urging his candidacy at

this time and "putting him into a press in which he will be squeezed to death long before the convention is called. Without any special candidate of our own, we see with pain the ill-directed zeal by which so many sterling Republicans will be killed off."

Lincoln in the meantime had decided to keep himself in the field at least and he wrote to Dr. Ray in July for a set of the Douglas debates as printed in the *Tribune*.

"Please get two copies of each number of your paper and send them to me by express; and I will pay you for the papers and your trouble. I believe, according to the letter of yours to Hatch [O. M. Hatch, Secretary of State and Lincoln confidant] you are feeling like hell yet. Quit that – you will soon feel better. Another 'blow-up' is coming; and we shall have fun again. Douglas managed to be supported, both as the best instrument to put down and to uphold the slavery power; but no ingenuity can long keep that antagonism in harmony."

For some reason Dr. Ray did not send on the papers requested and it was not until Christmas time that Lincoln got them from his lawyer friend, Henry Whitney. Later he arranged for their pamphlet publication.

During this fall and winter Lincoln began a series of political talks that took him far outside the state. He also spoke frequently in Illinois. He went to Iowa, Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Kansas, steadily building his reputation.

On announcing the invitation for Lincoln to speak in Ohio, the *Tribune* said on September 13:

"Well done, Cincinnati. You are paying merited respect to an honest man." The *Tribune* sent Hitt down to Ohio to report the Lincoln speeches, which took the form of an answer to Douglas' latest arguments appearing in *Harper's Magazine*. Six columns of Lincoln's Cincinnati speech were printed. The *Tribune* called it one of the ablest, most searching of the Lincoln utterances.

"The popular sovereigns," said Lincoln, "are blowing out

the moral lights around us; teaching the Negro is no longer a man but a brute; that the Declaration has nothing to do with him; that he ranks with the crocodile and the reptile; that man, with body and soul, is a matter of dollars and cents."

The *Tribune* editors saw in Lincoln's Ohio speeches a great contribution to Republicanism. On October 25, 1859, an item headed "Presidential" appeared in the paper stating:

"The *Aledo Record* and the *Rock Island Register* favor the nomination of Abraham Lincoln for the presidency."

Was this the beginning of the Lincoln boom that had been planned by his friends?

According to an interview with Medill by H. I. Cleveland which was published in the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1899, the Republican state committee, in the spring of 1859, met in the office of the *Tribune* "where a definite scheme for booming Lincoln was concocted. Medill, as a member of the committee, reported that the press down-state, particularly in the old Whig belt, was to broach the subject, then a Springfield paper to take it up, then another farther north, say in Rock Island, until the boom should reach Chicago."

Gustave Koerner, German political leader of Chicago, in his Memoirs (Vol. II, page 80) says:

"Upon consultation with some of the members of the Republican State Central Committee and other leading Republicans, it was agreed that the best policy for the party in our State was to keep Lincoln in the background for the present, or at least not to push his claim to any extent. The friends of Seward, Bates, Cameron and Chase would fight against each other, and necessarily damage the candidates they upheld. Lincoln, being out of the struggle in a measure, would be let alone, and, when brought forward at the proper time, would meet with no embittered enemies."

This plan of campaign appears to conflict in some ways with Medill's simultaneous efforts in behalf of his friend Chase. It will be recalled that Chase was in Medill's Cleveland office

when the Republican party meeting was held in 1854 and that in 1856 Medill had said he would like to see Chase president.

Medill wrote to Chase on June 8, 1859:

"Before long I propose to write one or more leading articles in favor of nominating a Western candidate, without espousing the claims of any man, or attacking Seward. We do not think it policy thus early to commit our paper publicly to any candidate, but to work underground for you and openly for the Western man."

In August of that year Medill was writing Chase that "If Bates gets in your way I consider you have a pretty sure thing of the nomination." A month later he advised Chase on the tariff issue and said that Lincoln was rapidly forging ahead as a prospective candidate in Illinois and Indiana.

William Baringer, who has made an exhaustive study of the technique and chronology of Lincoln's political activities at this time discounts somewhat the recollections of Medill on this plan of campaign. He says in his *Lincoln's Rise to Power* (page 150) that "this unreliable testimony is perhaps less a case of faulty memory than an attempt to conceal the fact that neither Medill nor the other *Tribune* owners were Lincoln men until very late in the contest."

However that may be, the Lincoln "boom" developed in the state much as Medill had outlined. While hopeful for Chase in the spring and summer of 1859, Medill had become convinced by fall that Lincoln was the man to win, and the cause had always been uppermost with him rather than the man.

"The *Tribune*," Baringer writes (page 110), "was the best press support a Western Republican could want, for its influence extended far beyond Chicago. As the chief Republican paper of the West it published long campaign speeches and tactics in all the Western states, even California, also saying much about politics East and South."

John Wentworth's paper had now decided on General Sam

Houston as the Republican candidate and "our favorite son of Illinois, Abraham Lincoln, for vice president."

The *Tribune* said this meant that Wentworth had bidden good-bye to Republican principles and had "plunged his whole length into the pro-slavery cesspool."

The *Chicago Journal* came out for Seward and the *Tribune* argued that Seward could not carry Illinois, Pennsylvania, Indiana, or New Jersey.

"His nomination would be the signal of a union of Americans [Know-Nothings] with Democrats to beat him. Would it be wise to nominate a candidate however great his talents, or sincere his free soilism, who, instead of attracting the conservatives to his support would repel them and drive them into the ranks of the common enemy to ensure the defeat of our candidate?"

This argument, given out on September 10, was later to be brought forward with success in the convention that nominated Lincoln.

The *Tribune* editors had not come out for Lincoln at this time and Lincoln had refused to come out as a candidate, as urged by Fell and others, and had told several inquirers that he did not think he was the man for the job, but all the time he was playing a most astute political course, and the *Tribune* editors were driving things his way.

Lincoln's reasoning in his Ohio speeches of that fall attracted wide attention among Republicans. He also made himself known in Wisconsin in October. The *Tribune* noted that he was in Chicago for a few days at that time.

"Three days earlier," writes Baringer (page 110), "for no good reason except that its editors were fond of Lincoln, the *Tribune* had published his agricultural address [in Wisconsin], recommending it 'to the perusal of our readers of all classes — to the farmers particularly.'"

John Brown's activities at Harpers Ferry came during the last week of October and had profound political effects, as

soon sensed by the *Tribune* editors. The first news came on the morning of October 19, followed by a series of stirring dispatches. The *Tribune* commented on October 21:

The news from Harpers Ferry, in which the insurrection attempt of a handful of blacks, aided by two or three white men, is related, will produce a profound sensation in all the slave holding states. Osawatomie Brown, who seems to have been the head and front of the movement, figures not unexpectedly to us in this purposeless and senseless riot. Since the death of his son Frederick, who was shot down at his own door by a Missouri mob tenfold more revengeful and bloody than that which now fills Virginia with terror, and since the old man witnessed, on the same occasion, the destruction of property he had been a life time in accumulating, he has been a monomaniac. He has supposed himself divinely appointed to free all American slaves by some violent and decisive move. . . .

Let the fear and trembling that have run through the Old Dominion and which will haunt the pillow of every slaveholder in the land, be charged to the account of those who have set the causes in motion. Let the Democracy of the North — particularly of the Northwest — who, under the lead of Douglas, have stopped at nothing to degrade Freedom and elevate Slavery, bear the burdens which their causeless criminality had imposed upon them. Republican skirts are clear.

Chapter Eighteen

THE *TRIBUNE* DECLARES FOR "OLD ABE"

THE PART played by the *Tribune* in the first nomination of Lincoln is shown day by day in the files of the paper from November of 1859 until the eve of the convention in May of 1860.

During the fall of 1859 the *Tribune* had been reporting and analyzing election returns from all over the country, and on November 11 came to the conclusion that the Republicans would triumph the following year, that the fall elections were "but a presage of what is to come in the great national contest of 1860."

The presidential situation was discussed on November 16, with the claims of half a dozen candidates discussed.

"We premise," said the *Tribune*, "that no man has any claims on the Republican party for a presidential nomination that are worth talking about. The right of each in the premises is measured, first, by his ability to administer the government on Republican principles; and, second, by his strength in the matter of electoral votes.

". . . What man can carry the five southern states which Frémont lost, or a sufficient number of them to make a majority of the electoral college? The states are New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois and California. Here is the question in a nut-shell. The representatives of four doubtful states [leaving California out] will throw some light on it. They will exercise an influence on the result quite out of proportion to their numerical strength. . . . We have the utmost faith that the decision will commend itself fully to the judgment of all sections of the country."

This was the argument which had greater and greater influence – the availability argument. It is Strevey's judgment that Medill at this time had reached the conclusion that Lincoln was the only man who could carry these four states, and therefore that he was the man for the nomination. If so, Medill had no difficulty in carrying the other editors with him, all friends and admirers of Lincoln. They were not yet, however, to come out openly.

On November 19 another editorial dealt with the suggestion of Senator Simon Cameron, Republican boss of Pennsylvania, for president and Lincoln for vice-president, made in a

Pennsylvania paper. The *Tribune* thought it should be the other way.

"We fancy the Republicans of the Northwest will insist upon turning it end for end, so that it may read Lincoln for President and Cameron for vice-president. We make these suggestions not to insist that the Republican party shall nominate Mr. Lincoln for the Presidency, but to state what sort of ticket we should prefer."

Lincoln went out to Kansas in December. The *Tribune* said he was making a big impression there and that his name was a household word. Lincoln was quoted on the subject of dissolution:

"You say if the Black Republicans elect a president you will break up the Union. That will be your act, not ours. Old John Brown has just been executed for treason against a state. If constitutionally we elect a president and you undertake to destroy the Union, it will be our duty to deal with you as old John Brown was dealt with."

This was a plain warning, the outline of a policy which Lincoln later was forced to follow.

The *Tribune* carried a long story, received by telegraph, of John Brown's execution and descriptions of services held in Chicago, where prayers were said and bells tolled.

In December things began to happen politically. Medill went to Washington as editorial correspondent and began the preparation of a series of letters on the availability of Lincoln as a candidate.

"We were not rich and my office was under my hat," Medill said in the interview with H. I. Cleveland (*Saturday Evening Post*, August 5, 1899).

"Before writing my Lincoln letters home I preached him among the Congressmen. I urged him chiefly on the ground of availability in the close and doubtful states with what seemed like reasonable success."

In the Eastern press, however, Lincoln was seldom men-

tioned as a possible candidate, never as a leading one. Illinois opposition papers scoffed at the suggestion, and connected Lincoln and his friends with the " traitors " who committed murder at Harpers Ferry. They argued that the Douglasites were the real Constitution upholders.

The *Tribune* campaign was planned, according to Baringer, by Medill and Judd " and a band of ambitious politicians," before Medill left Chicago.

On December 15 the *Tribune* began to discuss the possibility of holding the Republican national convention in Chicago. The claims of Indianapolis were also considered and the question of the housing of the delegates. The interest of the city, the paper said, was not to be considered first; the interest of the party was everything. Some of the committeemen seemed to think that Indiana needed the influence of the convention as much as, if not more than, Chicago. If Indiana were decided against, all were in favor of Chicago. The editor " understood " that Norman B. Judd was in favor of Chicago. As a matter of fact Judd was working hard to bring the convention to Chicago as part of the Lincoln campaign mentioned above.

The Chicago merchants reported good trade for the year just closing. " Our advertising columns are full of good suggestions," said the *Tribune*, adding that the *Chicago Times* was always three weeks behind events. The Overland Mail from California was reported to have arrived in St. Louis after a twenty-three-day trip. Chicago streets were snow-covered and sleighing scenes were described. Julian S. Rumsey, president of the Board of Trade, had suffered an accident. A fine pair of grays he was driving ran away and threw him out at the Rush Street Bridge, injuring his back.

On December 22 the *Tribune* reported that the Republican National Committee in session at the Astor House, New York, had decided to hold the great convention at Chicago on June 13. Indianapolis, it was said, had been passed over because of lack of hotels, and Chicago had won over St. Louis because the

party could not carry Missouri anyway and would only waste its substance there. Koerner says in his *Memoirs* that had the convention not been held in Chicago, Lincoln could not have been nominated.

The year 1860 was one of the most important in American history, for it saw the nomination and election of Lincoln and the onset of the Civil War. These two events mark it also as the most important period in the history of the *Tribune* thus far. During the thirteen years of the paper's life it had been the enemy of slavery, and during the preceding five years it had brought to the slavery issue not only powerful pens but a high degree of political acumen. This year the *Tribune* was to reap the fruit of its endeavors. It had grown steadily from a weak, country journal to a newspaper of national influence. Its expansion continued and it met the news demands of the early war years with skill and enterprise. Even during the war years it developed and prospered as the city grew in population and wealth.

The year 1860 opened mildly from a political standpoint. The *Tribune* printed items under the heading "Presidential," but took no stand openly, although by this time the editors well knew that they were out for the nomination of Lincoln. Dr. Ray ran the editorial end of the paper, while Medill remained in Washington, buttonholing Congressmen, preaching Lincoln, who, despite the fact that some years earlier he had been a member of the House, was not well known there. The Illinois man about whom everybody in the capital was talking was Douglas.

On February 16, 1860, following Medill's reports from Washington, the *Tribune* came out editorially for the nomination of Lincoln. This editorial appears in full or in part in many political histories of the times:

It appears a foregone conclusion that the nomination of the Chicago convention will be conferred upon no one who does not unite in himself the essentials of requisite qualifications, devotion

to the distinctive principles of the Republican party and availability. [The availability qualification was directed particularly at the three or four states then thought to constitute debatable ground, including Illinois.]

We have no hesitancy in saying that as respects the first two essentials Abraham Lincoln of Illinois is the peer of any man yet mentioned in connection with the Republican nomination, while as regards availability we believe him more certain to carry Illinois and Indiana than anyone else and his political antecedents are such as to commend him heartily to the support of Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

Declaring that Lincoln would have been a senator except for the bad apportionment law of Illinois, the *Tribune* continued:

The popularity of Lincoln is not confined to Illinois and the Northwest. His memorable canvass with Douglas in 1858 gave Republicans throughout the Union an opportunity of becoming familiar with his admirable personal qualities, his entire devotion to the distinctive principles of his party, his rare ability and broad, statesmanlike views on national political questions.

Lincoln's claims were then given in four paragraphs as follows:

1. A gentleman of unimpeachable purity of private life. His good name is not soiled by a single act, political, social, moral or religious, that we or his friends need blush to own as his. In all of his relations to his fellows he has not yet been guilty of that thing upon which an enemy can place a finger and say "This is dishonest," or "This is mean." Herein he is the peer of the most unspotted man of the Republic — the living likeness, full length size, of the best of the eminent characters who laid the foundation of the government.

2. A man of, at once, great breadth and great acuteness of intellect. Not learned in a bookish sense, but master of great fundamental principles, and of that kind of ability which applies them to crises and events. The masterly canvass which he made with Douglas, and his later speeches in Ohio mark him as one of the ablest political thinkers of the day.

3. Right on the record. An old line Whig acceptable to Pennsylvania and New Jersey — candidate of the party which in itself

is an embodiment of the principles and measures necessary for the perpetuity of the Union and the preservation of our free institutions – he would enter the field acceptable to the opposition of all shades of opinion, harmonizing all interests, conciliating all jarring elements, a guarantor of success.

4. A man of executive capacity. Never garrulous, never promising what he cannot perform, never doing anything for show or effect, laboriously attentive to details, industrious and conscientious, he would see to it that no want of promptness, attention or industry on his part should defeat the reforms of the administration of national affairs which Republicanism is pledged to inaugurate.

The *Tribune* was to find in the next four years that its last claim was apparently not a good one, for its editors were impatient with Lincoln many times, but the paper never had to retract on any of the other claims, or to feel sorry that it had urged him as a candidate. Its editors understood him and trusted his final reactions.

This editorial was followed by a letter from Medill written in Washington, signed "Chicago," in which it was argued forcefully that Lincoln was the man on whom both conservative and radical sentiment could unite. Medill said that he now heard Lincoln's name mentioned for president "ten times as often as it was a month ago."

Medill afterward related that while at a reception for the British Minister, Senator Seward, an old friend, "blew him up" for this letter and editorial.

"I had always counted on you as one of my boys," Seward told Medill. "Henceforth you and I are parted. I defy you to do your worst. I know three papers in your town that are with me and I shall never trust you again."

Frederic Bancroft, in his *Life of William H. Seward* (Vol. 1, page 530), says that Medill believed Seward to be "too radical on the slavery question," and that Seward could not carry the doubtful states.

In her life of Lincoln (Vol. 1, page 339) Ida Tarbell refers

to Medill's " ringing letter from Washington, naming Lincoln as a candidate on whom both conservative and radical sentiment could unite." It was claimed that this was the first time that the availability argument had been made east of the Alleghenies.

While thus expressing its opinion, the *Tribune* did not attempt to close the door to other candidates or to dictate what the convention should do. It was prepared to support any choice of the party.

On February 23 it reprinted from the *Chester County* (Pa.) *Times* a biographical sketch of Lincoln. This was the work of Jesse Fell, who had induced Lincoln the preceding December to write out the story of his life and had circulated it in Pennsylvania and other states through his editorial connections. The *Tribune* said that this column had its warm approbation. It was stated, however, that Illinois had other candidates, Senator Trumbull and Governor Bissell, and continued: " Mr. Lincoln is quietly practising his profession at the capital, doing nothing, holding back those who would do something to increase his chances."

On February 23 the editorial urging his nomination was reprinted. Kansas territory passed a law abolishing slavery.

" This is the doctrine which the Democrats of Illinois profess to believe in," said the *Tribune*. " What will happen now? Will they try to force slavery on Kansas against the will of the people? "

The Republican National Committee announced a delay in fixing the convention date.

The *Tribune* suggested that the state committee rally around the name of Lincoln and form clubs for his nomination.

" Then if he fails the same machinery can be used for the nominee. We take it for granted that Lincoln is the first choice of every Republican in the state, and when Lincoln wants the vote of Illinois he will receive it by unanimous consent. If this be so, let us organize at once, and in his behalf."

Ohio Republicans decided to make campaign documents of the Lincoln-Douglas debates. The *Tribune* had made these available in a cheap reprint and suggested that the state central committee place a large order and circulate them in Ohio also.

On February 27, in answer to an inquiry on Lincoln's record, the *Tribune* said:

"Lincoln's record, political and personal, is without a line of which any Republican need be afraid or ashamed. His growth in anti-slavery belief is not the result of any quickening hot house process, but the ripening of his convictions. No government dollars will stick to his fingers or be appropriated to partisan purposes. Is not Lincoln the man of the hour?"

The next day the *Tribune* editors gave more reasons for their action:

> We had resolved to go through the six months before the Chicago convention without a candidacy for the presidency, but the indiscreet zeal and the claims of men elsewhere advocated and the necessity of making head against some of the more alarming movements which have been started, compelled us to assume open ground in favor of the candidate of Illinois — Abraham Lincoln.
>
> Let no man lay down a law for the convention. If our judgment is confirmed and our personal feelings gratified by the nomination of Mr. Lincoln, we shall be glad; but if another is singled out for the honor which Lincoln deserves, no matter who he is, so that he represents the Republican idea, he shall have our support.

Medill came home from Washington and it was announced on February 29 that Lincoln was to make a speech at Cooper Union, New York. It had first been arranged to hold this meeting in Henry Ward Beecher's church, but the political nature of the speech caused the change. Connecticut and other Eastern states also asked Lincoln to appear. This was his first chance to present his cause in the East, and he worked hard at Springfield, devoting days to consulting musty library files in the preparation of the speech.

In his *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years* (Vol. 2, page 210) Carl Sandburg relates that on his way to New York Lin-

coln stopped at the *Tribune* office and showed his speech to Medill and Ray, asking them to read it and to make notes as to any changes of words or phrases which they believed would improve the speech, since he was to face a highly critical Eastern audience.

Medill and Ray, according to Sandburg, toiled for some hours reading and making notations where the construction could be improved, and it was with a self-satisfied feeling that the manuscript was returned to Lincoln early the next morning. When the report of the Cooper Union speech reached Chicago, it was found that Lincoln had used none of the suggestions.

In this speech, which was printed on March 2 as a clipping from the *New York Tribune,* Lincoln took a conservative, Constitutional stand on slavery.

"To Republicans," said Lincoln, "it is exceedingly desirable that all parts of this great confederacy shall be at peace and harmony one with another. Let us Republicans do our part to have it so. Even though much provoked, let us do nothing through passion or ill temper. Even though the Southern people will not so much as listen to us, let us calmly consider their demands and yield to them if, in our deliberate view of our duty, we possibly can. Wrong as we think slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is because that much is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence in the nation."

Radicals of Illinois condemned Lincoln's new conservatism and Lincoln did not greatly blame them, according to Nicolay and Hay.

The Cooper Union speech won high praise from Henry J. Raymond of the *New York Times* and from William Cullen Bryant of the *New York Evening Post,* who had presided at the meeting. It was another turning point toward the nomination.

Chapter Nineteen

LINCOLN NOMINATED

The Republican National Convention of 1860 found the *Tribune* forces, in publicity, in personal work, and in giving expert political advice, hard at work for Lincoln. The editors announced, however, that they would support any candidate the convention selected, since the success of the Republican party was their great cause. The interests of the paper were promoted at the same time.

The convention was finally set for May 16.

"In ten weeks our standard bearer will be in the field," said the *Tribune* on March 2. "Let us organize a Republican club in every county seat and get a good live Republican newspaper in the hands of every voter. The Northwest has two states to redeem from the hands of the slave power, and it behooves every true patriot to buckle on his armor and prepare for the contest.

"Illinois and Indiana must be wheeled into the Republican column. The Northwestern states, children of the Ordinance of 1787, must be a unit for free soil. It will be a reassertion of the central idea on which the struggle of the Revolution was won."

The Republicans achieved a local victory that spring and Lincoln's strength increased. On March 10 the Washington correspondent reported that Seward's friends were willing, if Seward won the nomination, to give Lincoln a seat in the cabinet.

The *Tribune* said that Seward was admittedly the first choice of the Republicans of the free states, but that there was a division as to who could command the greatest number of votes.

" Illinois would say Lincoln. Ohio would say Chase. The matter is resolved into one of expediency. We have long believed and believe still that the real struggle is between Seward and Lincoln and one or the other will be selected. We frankly admit that availability is the key."

In March, discussion began regarding the building of the Wigwam as a temporary convention structure. The *Tribune* suggested that it be built with " pro-slavery dollars," that the Republican party must not be called upon for money.

" Mr. Lincoln is our candidate," said the *Tribune* on March 15. " He has been so from the beginning and will be so until the convention takes from us the right as partisans to press his claim." On March 22 the editors said:

" We do not know that we urge Lincoln with his approbation or consent. We have never had a word from him or any of his friends authorized to speak in his behalf, oral or written, in which his desire for the presidency was even hinted. We have no scheme to further, no enmities to gratify by placing him above others in the struggle. Our desire is for the nomination of a representative man with whom success is not merely problematical but certain. That man we believe to be Abraham Lincoln."

Lincoln came up to Chicago in March on a sand-bar case and remained there a week. He made speeches in Waukegan and was given a reception in Evanston.

Virginia at this time began to talk of secession. The *Tribune* suggested getting Virginia bonds out of the state treasury and " taking her at her word." There was a debate on polygamy in Congress. The Chicago and North Western bought a fine new locomotive. Owen Lovejoy's speech on slavery was given five columns in the *Tribune*. The Cooper Union speech was issued as a campaign document. The journey to St. Louis on the Alton

was cut to twelve hours and twenty minutes. Another railroad to the Missouri River was advocated.

Elias Colbert, then city editor, who was later to become commercial editor of the *Tribune* and finally for many years an editorial writer, had an article in the paper of April 16 on the occultation of Venus by the moon. He was an amateur astronomer of note, and a lecturer at the first Chicago University, forerunner of today's University of Chicago.

The national convention of the Democratic party began its long struggle over the nomination of a candidate on April 23 at Charleston, South Carolina. This was the home of the "fire-eaters," the Southern oligarchy of slave holders, who had been threatening secession for years if they did not have their way on the slave question. The struggle was between these extremist leaders and the Douglas Democrats, with their "Freeport doctrine" of popular sovereignty.

The first report of this Charleston convention appeared in the *Tribune* of May 1, a reprint from the *New York Times.* The *Tribune* editors, and Lincoln himself, expected Senator Douglas to be nominated. The Baltimore organ of the *German Turnverein of the United States* came out for the nomination of Lincoln.

The States-Rights Democrats seceded from the Charleston convention on May 11 and the hopes of Lincoln and his friends rose. This split appeared to make a Republican victory almost inevitable and accentuated the struggle over the nomination. The Seward people were busy all over the country.

The Illinois Republicans, meeting in Decatur, nominated Richard Yates for governor. On a resolution introduced by John M. Palmer, Lincoln was made the first choice of the delegation for the presidential nomination and the group was instructed to vote for him as a unit.

Delegates to the convention began arriving, and on May 12 the Wigwam was dedicated. This building fronted 180 feet on Market Street and 100 feet on Lake Street and had been

built at a cost of somewhat more than $5,000. It seated about 10,000.

The *Tribune* printed in five columns an account of the dedication ceremonies. Lincoln, the paper said, was the choice of Illinois and the state would battle for him, but it would also battle for the common cause when the convention was over.

On the opening of convention week, May 15, the *Tribune* gave its first page to stories of arrivals, speeches, and speculation. The Wide Awake clubs, Republican marching organizations which were to play a big part in the campaign, were on hand to escort important delegates to their hotels, and the streets were filled with color and music.

On that same day an important editorial, "Abraham Lincoln, the Winning Man" was printed, one column in length, giving eight reasons for supporting him. Lincoln headquarters were opened in the Tremont House under the supervision of Judge David Davis, with Ray and Medill as active workers. Norman B. Judd had induced the railroads to make special rates to Chicago and had encouraged Republicans to come to the city and stir things up for Lincoln. The Eastern delegates read the *Tribune's* eight points for Lincoln, as follows:

1. By his own choice Lincoln is not a candidate. He never sought directly or indirectly for the first or second place on the ticket. The movement for him was entirely spontaneous and he would enter the contest with no clogs or embarrassments, this fact alone constituting a guaranty of a glorious triumph.

2. That in all the fundamentals of Republicanism Lincoln is a radical up to the limit to which the party, with due respect to the rights of the South, proposes to go.

3. Lincoln is not striving for nor has a record to make. Originally a Whig, he has nothing to explain and his position on the tariff was guaranteed as acceptable to all Republicans.

4. Lincoln is a Southern man by birth and education.

5. He is a man of the people. For his position he is not indebted to family influence, partiality of friends, or the acts of a politician.

6. He is without a strain of Know-Nothingism; he is acceptable

to the great mass of American voters who will be compelled to choose between the candidate of Chicago and the Democratic nominee.

7. Mr. Lincoln is an honest man.

8. Mr. Lincoln can be elected if placed before the people with the approbation of the convention which meets tomorrow.

To these eight points, the *Tribune* added:

"We present our candidate, because he is that honest man, that representative Republican, the people's candidate, whose life, position and record are so many guaranties of success — because he is that patriot in whose hands the interest of the government could be safely confided."

Lincoln's nomination, the *Tribune* said, was not a matter of rivalry with the East, and that Lincoln would work for the convention's choice.

Lincoln remained in Springfield, while Chicago was filled with Seward's "Irrepressibles," marching clubs headed by Tom Hyer, former pugilist of New York. On the surface everything looked favorable to Seward. But the Lincoln people now began to pour into town and the Lincoln men were busy in back-room conferences with delegates from the doubtful states, particularly Indiana and Pennsylvania.

The *Tribune* reprinted its "Winning Man" editorial embodying its eight points on the 16th, and also took that occasion to inform the delegates and Eastern visitors about Chicago and its commerce and prospects, running a two-column story on this.

The *Tribune Weekly* of this date reprinted its editorial of May 15, commending Lincoln to the doubtful states and telling of his victory over the Democrats in Illinois in 1858 by a vote of 125,275 to 121,190.

A one-page supplement was printed on May 17, and on the 18th a final editorial, "A Last Entreaty" for the nomination of Lincoln, summarized all the arguments it previously had presented.

Still the situation looked like a Seward victory. Straw votes gave Seward a tremendous lead over other candidates.

The problem facing the Illinois delegation, Professor Strevey writes, was to unite the Seward opposition on Lincoln.

On the same subject Joseph Fort Newton (*Lincoln and Herndon*, page 272) writes: "Lincoln headquarters were at the Tremont House, five blocks from the Wigwam, and his friends worked 'like nailers,' as Oglesby said. David Davis, Stephen T. Logan, Leonard Swett, Norman Judd, Jesse K. Dubois were leaders, with W. H. Herndon as the personal representative of his partner. They opened a political huckster shop, and began to dicker for votes."

"There was more management in the nomination of Lincoln than history has set down," Medill said in an interview in 1890 which was reprinted in the *Tribune* of February 7, 1909. "Of the 22 Illinois delegates less than two-thirds were for Lincoln. The northern part of the state was for Seward. We secured the Illinois vote by binding it as a unit. Seven Seward men were thus committed. The *Democrat* and the *Staats-Zeitung* [also the *Journal*] were for Seward. The *Tribune* alone fought for Lincoln. Not many in the Illinois delegation thought he would win.

"We made the first break to get votes outside Illinois in Indiana, which had 26 votes at the time. Judd and Ebenezer Peck were most prominent in getting votes, then Dr. Ray, senior editor, David Davis, O. H. Browning, Jesse K. Dubois, O. M. Hatch and D. M. Phillips. We worked with Henry S. Lane and Caleb Smith in the Indiana delegation."

After one conference with these Indiana leaders, Dr. Ray reported to Medill at the Tremont House that Indiana was nailed down for Lincoln and would vote solidly for him on the first ballot, adding, "By the Lord, we promised them everything they asked."

Medill told of waiting in the Tremont House for final word from the Pennsylvania delegation. Ray told Medill that the delegation had been won by promising General Cameron a Cabinet position.

"There is little question," Strevey writes, "that promises were made to Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania, even though Lincoln had remained at Springfield and had warned his friends against such action."

These promises were later to cause the *Tribune* editors considerable worry, particularly the Cameron deal, for Lincoln fulfilled all the pledges made by his workers. He is said to have remarked to his friends later:

"Well, gentlemen, where do I come in? You seem to have given everything away."

There were two other practical ways in which the activities of Medill and other Lincoln workers had an effect on the convention. One had to do with the seating of delegates and the other with the issuance of tickets; these two tasks were in charge of Judd and Medill, who seated the Pennsylvania delegates, for instance, where they could hardly hear the voices of the Seward delegates from New York. And on the nomination day the Wigwam was packed with Lincoln friends, while the Seward people found that they could not get any tickets. Thus practical politics reinforced idealism. Thurlow Weed was busy with similar tactics for Seward.

The *Tribune* printed pages of convention proceedings, platform-making and comment.

The nomination came on May 18. On the first ballot Seward received 173½ votes, Lincoln 102, Cameron 50½, Chase 49, Bates 48. Two hundred and thirty-three constituted a majority.

Medill said that the Illinois delegation sent him to sit among his old Ohio friends. He remained there despite some objection, and after the second ballot, which did not materially

change the situation, he whispered to Cartter of Ohio that if the Ohio delegation went to Lincoln, Chase "can have anything he wants."

"How do you know?" asked Cartter.

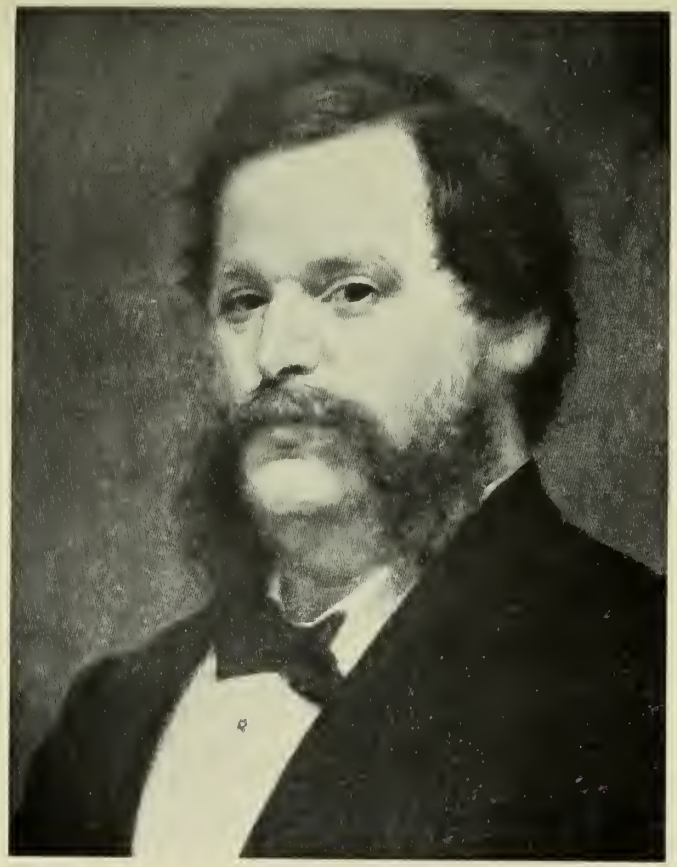
"I know and you know I wouldn't promise if I didn't know," said Medill.

On the third ballot Lincoln's total reached 231½ as the voting proceeded, and before the result of that roll call was concluded Cartter rose to announce the change of four votes to Lincoln, which gave him the nomination.

"It is absolutely impossible to describe," said the *Tribune* in its leading story of the nomination. "It is equally impossible for one not present to imagine the scene in the Wigwam when Lincoln was nominated. Without attempting, therefore, to convey an idea of the delirious cheers, the Babel of joy and excitement, we may mention that strong men wept like children, that two candidates for gubernatorial chairs of their respective states who looked to the nomination of Honest Old Abe to carry the Republican cause at home through the storm, sank down in excess of joy."

Baringer writes (*Lincoln's Rise to Power*, page 244) that on the morning of the nomination day Lincoln "had additional invaluable aid from these influential Lincolnians of the fourth estate [Ray and Medill]. Delegates, waiting for the Convention to open at noon, read in the *Press and Tribune* the editorial 'THE WINNING MAN – ABRAHAM LINCOLN,' reprinted, and several interesting letters. A New Yorker's long communication . . . concluded, 'Give us Lincoln and victory is sure.'"

"Let us who have labored so long and we hope so acceptably, for the Republican cause, warn the convention that the voice of the united doubtful states cannot, must not be discouraged," said the *Tribune* in this critical hour. "They are six, if not seven in number. They are potent and their approbation of the nominee, not only here at Chicago but at the



ALFRED COWLES

Treasurer and business manager of the Tribune *for many years. He came to Chicago with Joseph Medill in 1855 from Cleveland and a year later bought an interest in the paper. His grandson is now a director of the* Tribune *company.*

DR. CHARLES H. RAY

He joined Joseph Medill in the purchase of the Tribune *on June 18, 1855, and was its chief editor for several years. Dr. Ray was a friend of Lincoln and was a force in his nomination and in the founding of the Republican Party in Illinois.*

polls in November, must be secured, else an inglorious and fatal defeat stares us in the face."

On May 19 the famous editorial on "The Man of the People" was printed:

Ever and anon there springs from the bosom of the people a man qualified to meet the people's highest wants in great emergencies. A man who by reason of his many virtues, his moral heroism and his commanding qualities, is recognized by all classes as one endowed and anointed for a great work. His credentials bear the impress of a power whose fiat is irresistible, and his progress toward the appointed goal is as sure as the march of destiny. Scorning adventitious aids, trampling under foot every suggestion of mere policy, with heart all athrob with pure and lofty aspirations and generous aims, he moves right onward with the assured tread and unquailing eye of a born conqueror. Of the people by birth, with the people by association and by a community of interests and ideas, what wonder that they should always hold him closely to their heart, and in their hour of greatest need hail him as their leader and sure deliverer?

Such a man is Abraham Lincoln, and the whole philosophy of his present position is embraced in that fact. No other man in the nation stands so near to the popular heart today; and in the exigencies to which corrupt rulers have brought our government and amid the perils which on every hand threaten our free institutions, the people turn instinctively to him as the man for the occasion; as one who had been led by Providence through all the experiences of lowly life, through labor and privation, through struggle and sacrifice, into self-reliance, into honest simplicity of life, into nobleness and purity of character, into a love of justice, of truth and freedom, that he might be fitted for the work.

For no fact stands out more clearly than this — that Abraham Lincoln is indebted to the people — not the politicians — for his nomination. From every part of our country where freedom is cherished, the voice of the people came up in unmistakable tones, calling for the nomination of Honest Old Abe. Neither personal effort, neither private pledges, neither promise of office or of patronage, were used to secure the end. They are wholly ignorant of the character of Abraham Lincoln who suppose him capable of any of these things. Men peculiarly fitted for great occasions are

sought for and called to their work by the spontaneous unbought suffrage of the people; and never was the fact more signally illustrated than in the nomination of Abraham Lincoln.

And now that he stands before the country as the candidate of the people's own choosing, it requires no gift of prescience to foretell the result. As surely as the sun shall rise upon election day, just as surely will the people of this nation place the man of the people at the head of government.

Scenes about town after the nomination were described as follows:

Last night the *Tribune* was illuminated by the glare of a thousand lights. On the east side of the counting room door stood a rail, one of the 3,000 split by Abe on the Sagamon thirty years ago. On the inside two more hung, glistening with lights. On the front of the office and over the main door was suspended an immense transparency with the inscription "For President – Honest Old Abe – for Vice-President – Hannibal Hamlin." Crowds shouldering rails marched through the streets to the music of a score of bands. Many other buildings also were illuminated. Everybody was happy. At dark several of the triumphal processions united, parading through Clark Street and stopping before our office.

Chapter Twenty

ELECTING THE PRESIDENT

THE FIRST Lincoln campaign, from the nomination in May until the election on November 6, 1860, absorbed all the energies of the *Tribune* staff. Day after day for all these months it pounded away in editorials and in frankly partisan stories for the success of the Republican standard bearer. During this

period it abandoned its combination name of *Press and Tribune* and went back to its old name, the *Chicago Tribune*.

The nomination of Lincoln had varied reactions. The *Peoria Transcript* of May 21, writing of the result of the convention, said:

" The deed is accomplished. The child is born and his name is not Ichabod but Abraham. By the by, is it Abraham or is it the shorter name of Abram? We want the sign manual of Old Abe on his letter of acceptance to settle the question."

Song writers burst forth at once and the *Tribune's* columns were studded from that day on to the day of election with poetic efforts. The *Tribune* printed the following from the pen of William H. Stickney, entitled *The Republican Flag* and set to the tune of the *Star Spangled Banner:*

O, say, have you heard from Chicago today,
As the news has flashed onward from station to station;
O, what is the name that the winged lightnings say,
The Republican choice for the head of the nation?

Now hear you that sound as it comes on the wind?
Is it thunder or cannons that news is proclaiming?
'Tis the honest, the able, the great of mind,
It is Lincoln, 'tis Lincoln! all hearts are exclaiming
The first blow is given,
Our fetters unriven:
The Union stands firm
In the free light of heaven.

And the flag of the Republic proudly may gleam,
For Lincoln and Freedom, o'er mountain and stream.

The leading editorial in the *Tribune* of May 19 said:

The age of purity returns. After a succession of Presidents, who have not only been subservient to the interests of the Propagandists of Human Slavery, but corrupt to a degree alarming to the truest friends of Republican institutions, the nomination of Abraham Lincoln – Honest Old Abe – is a guaranty that the country, wearied and outraged by the malfeasance of those invested with

Federal power, desires a return to the sterling honesty and Democratic simplicity which marked the administrations of Jefferson, Madison, Adams and Jackson. The party has not mistaken the man selected for the standard bearer.

. . . We refer to one matter with pride and congratulation. Mr. Lincoln has, by his own motion, never been a candidate for President of the United States; hence he has no pledges to redeem, no promises to make good. The uprising in his favor has been spontaneous – the outgrowth of a widespread conviction of his fitness and availability. . . . That during the past week, in which there have been so many temptations to lead him into the practices which are unfortunately so common with politicians of less rectitude, he has in terms of just indignation refused all offers of votes which are based upon promises of future rewards, we have reason to know. With the spirit becoming an honest man he rejected them all.

On the same morning the *Tribune* also printed a 4,000-word biographical sketch and announced that a complete biography would soon be published. About all the material at hand at that time was the story that had been prepared by the Pennsylvanian editor, Fell, several months before. Soon after the nomination Scripps started work on a biography of Lincoln and went to Springfield to interview Lincoln.

" The nominee," says Baringer (*Lincoln's Rise to Power*, page 324), " gave Scripps new material [some of it so intimate that he swore Scripps to secrecy] and prepared a new autobiography of four thousand words. This autobiography was made available to other writers also, through John G. Nicolay. . . . One writer who used it was a young Ohio journalist named William Dean Howells. . . ."

" Best book of the crop, however," Baringer continues, " was that by John Locke Scripps, who alone of these earliest Lincoln historians knew much about his subject. The Scripps *Life* was advertised by aggressive Republican sheets as a history written by an ' Illinois politician ' who knew Lincoln personally."

This book was published simultaneously by the *Chicago*

Tribune and the *New York Tribune*. The only known existing copy of the earliest edition is priced today at $300. It was a 32-page pamphlet, forming the first of the *Tribune* campaign documents.

The issue of the *Tribune* on May 20 was devoted to giving the campaign a rousing start. From that day until the election, the *Tribune* gave all its energy to putting Lincoln before the people.

The story of the notification of Lincoln at his Springfield home was printed on May 22. The delegation was led by George Ashmun, president of the convention.

" In the evening," said the *Tribune*, " the delegation accompanied by 40 or 50 outsiders walked up to Lincoln's house and were at once ushered into his presence. The parlors of the residence, small but neatly and tastefully furnished, were thrown together by the opening of folding doors, and he stood at the bottom of the back parlor, bowed as Mr. Ashmun entered and gracefully motioned him to proceed. Mr. Lincoln's manner was noted as unnaturally pale and with compressed lips. At the close of this ceremony [no speeches were reported] the gentlemen went into the second parlor where Mrs. Lincoln received them with that grace and intelligence which has made her a distinguished ornament of the excellent society of the capital."

Reports came in from various cities as to the way the nomination was received and these were printed in the *Tribune*. It was hardly credited at first in Washington, the correspondent there said.

The platform as amended and adopted was printed in full and the *Tribune* commented:

" Today Abraham Lincoln stands before this nation the most striking living embodiment of the genius of our free institutions that the country has ever produced; and the masses of men from whom he sprung will not fail to vindicate their favorite son from the contemptible flings of the organs of the pro-slavery, purse-proud aristocracy."

The *Tribune* weekly (on May 22) carried the convention story and leading editorials. On May 25 the *Tribune* thought it necessary to announce:

"The Christian name of Mr. Lincoln is Abraham, not Abram, as one of our eastern contemporaries prints it. Let the mistake be corrected at once."

Credit for the nomination, the *Tribune* said, could not go to Horace Greeley nor to Thurlow Weed. It continued its battle song of victory: "We are in this crisis ready to hail Abraham Lincoln as the man whose mission it is to save the nation against a debauched and rotten Democracy. He will be elected."

The paper begged contributors to be careful of the metre of their Lincoln song verses, some of which it was found could not be set to music.

The Mexican War attack against Lincoln was revived in New York and the *Tribune* again printed the authentic record in his defense. And on May 28 the *Tribune* editor told of a letter which Lincoln had sent on the Monday night before the nomination to friends who had asked him to make certain promises or pledges to increase his chances.

"No, gentlemen," Lincoln was quoted, "I have not asked the nomination and I will not now buy it with pledges."

One story relates that David Davis, Lincoln's convention manager, said they would have to go ahead and make the promises anyway, since Lincoln was not there.

On May 30 the *Tribune* attacked the *Chicago Times* for "shameless lying about Lincoln." The campaign was on. A pamphlet edition of the convention proceedings was printed and sold for five cents a copy. It was announced on this day that the old Fort Dearborn Lighthouse near the Rush Street Bridge had "succumbed to modern times" and been wrecked.

During the campaign that now opened the paper published a special edition, *The Press and Tribune Campaign Special*, which was sold at cost.

Literature bearing on the election, Strevey writes, was distributed by the *Tribune* over the entire Northwest. Among these documents were the biographical sketch, discussions on ten campaign subjects, including the national platforms, articles on the slave trade and squatter sovereignty, extracts from Douglas' speeches, the story of slavery in Nebraska and New Mexico, Lincoln's letters, the record of Douglas on the slavery question, the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and speeches of Lincoln and others, including those of Carl Schurz and Owen Lovejoy.

The *Tribune* [says Strevey] used its entire resources to put Lincoln before the people. From the day of the nomination to the day when ballots decided the issue, editorials appeared in a steady stream, while the columns of the paper were filled with Republican doctrine. Medill was active in committee work and aided in the official management of the campaign in the Northwest. Through his efforts, speakers were placed where they would do the most good and money was distributed in so-called weak spots. Reporters were dispatched with orders to secure all the Lincoln material available in order that he might be placed before the various classes of people in such a way as to command their votes. It was not as brilliant a campaign as that of 1856 but it was intense and full of party enthusiasm. The Republicans, no longer with their backs to the wall, waged an aggressive battle which would have been dangerous to the Democrats even in normal times.

Through it all, the *Tribune* firm and their paper, from the days preceding the Chicago convention until the last ballot was counted and Lincoln was declared the next President of the United States, did its part. Some writers think it was more than that, but in either case, once Lincoln became the *Tribune's* choice for President, he received its wholehearted support and there can be little doubt but that the building up of public opinion and the publicity so valuable to a politician was directly aided and tremendously so by the *Tribune*.

Medill was given sums of money and sent to vital counties in the state to distribute it, according to Chairman Judd's letters to Senator Trumbull, and Medill himself reported to Con-

gressman Washburne that northern Illinois by September was " responding gloriously " to the campaign efforts.

The *Tribune* during this campaign period, however, did not become a mere political organ. It printed more and diverse news. On June 2 it contained six columns on the sensational Isaac vs. Mary Burch divorce case. The Wigwam was given over to religious services and the *Tribune* suggested that a great concert be held there. Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* was reviewed as one of the new books. Foreign news still came mostly by reprint from London papers received by mail. The paper was overrun with campaign essays, poems, and letters.

" The time has come," the *Tribune* urged, " for a change in government, too long in the hands of the Southern slave oligarchy. It is time for the north to take charge, improve the country by rivers, railroads, etc."

The Old Revere House, " once a den of vice called ' Young America,' " was to be pulled down.

On June 5 a great tornado was reported to have occurred in Illinois and Iowa, with more than 100 dead. Subscription lists were started in Chicago to aid the sufferers.

" Lincoln will save the country from Democratic profligacy," said the *Tribune*, adding that when the Democrats came into power there were twenty-four millions in the national treasury and now the country was sixty millions in debt. They had not yet heard of billions.

The election of a Republican mayor of Washington was hailed as " the first gun for old Abe."

The Volk bust of Lincoln was completed on June 7 and the *Tribune* boosted the sale (life size $10, ½ size $4).

The Washington correspondent of the *Times* wrote that Lincoln while a Congressman had charged the price of three pairs of boots to his stationery expenses. The *Tribune* investigated and called the attack " a lie."

The weekly issue carried an editorial — " Organize in Illinois. Organize in every school district where a Republican can

be found and victory is certain." This edition, it was stated, went into the hands of 20,000 farmers. A "rising tide for Honest Old Abe" was reported from many quarters.

On June 7 the *Tribune* stated: "It is expressly understood that the *Press and Tribune* is in no sense Mr. Lincoln's organ. We have never consulted him about what was said or unsaid in this paper. That we in some sort aided in his nomination is true, but our poor service in that regard gives us no claim to speak for him."

"Old Man Bennett of the *New York Herald*," it was said elsewhere in the paper, "is again at his stupendous lies, calling Lincoln a ferocious John Brown abolitionist." Lincoln's record on the slave question was printed.

The German residents, it was reported, had formed an organization of Republican guards. The Wide Awakes were drilling at 39 Lake Street.

Lincoln sent a 150-word letter accepting the nomination, the platform, and its principles.

The friends of Douglas, the *Tribune* said, who were preparing to go to the Baltimore convention had "better stay home and learn that the administration of this government will surely be changed and that Honest Old Abe is the people's choice."

The Democrats at Charleston had split hopelessly, the Democrats of the Douglas or Northern group adjourning to Baltimore to nominate their hero. The seceders also met at Baltimore and nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. The diehards of the South met at Richmond and endorsed Breckinridge. Thus there were two Democratic tickets in the field against Lincoln, making his election more than probable. His work in showing Douglas to be an unsafe candidate for the slave holders, and at the same time unsafe for antislavery interests, had borne this fruit. It had, however, made war almost inevitable, unless Lincoln were to repudiate his principles. The Constitutional Union party nominated John Bell of Tennessee.

On June 12 a big relief concert for the benefit of the Illinois and Iowa tornado sufferers was held at the Wigwam and a controversy between the paper and the Reverend William W. Patton, who had objected to holding this concert on prayer meeting night, appeared in the *Tribune* columns. The *Tribune* thought that the Lord would excuse this for the benefit of the cause.

The New York World was started and the *Tribune* suggested a new classification for New York papers — "The *World*, the Flesh [the *Times*] and the Devil [the *Herald*]."

Adelina Patti sang in Chicago and the Chicago Zouaves left on an Eastern tour. The Lincoln Rangers organized at the Tremont House.

The *Tribune* suggested, as the result of the visit here of an iron manufacturer, that the time might come when iron ore from the Lake Superior region could be used here in Chicago manufacturing.

A straw vote taken by the *Tribune* on June 18 showed Lincoln to be the favorite in Illinois. War threatened in the Far East, as England demanded ports and concessions from China.

A Republican textbook of ninety-four pages was issued. The *Tribune* clarified the issue as follows on June 27: "The fight now going on in this country is not one which affects slavery in the states where it is established by law, or which touches, except remotely, the question of Emancipation. It is a struggle which arises out of a new interpretation of the Constitution which the South has procured from the Supreme Court, and which the North opposes. That interpretation assumes that the fundamental law of the Republic recognized property in human beings; and that assumption the Republicans deny, hence the combat. The ulterior purpose of the South is the legal admission to take slaves to any territories. This is a degradation of free white labor. The Republicans aim at the settlement of the territories by free men and free labor. Beyond this they do not go."

In its weekly edition of July 5 the *Tribune* said: "Old Abe must roll up tremendous majorities in every free state. He must not be the President of the Republicans alone. His election must be followed by a subsidence of slavery agitation. Let the disunionists be squelched before they mature their plans."

"Let no false security beguile us," said the *Tribune* of July 7. "Work while it is yet day for the night cometh when no man can work."

Lincoln's letter to the Republicans of Boston on April 6, 1859, was reprinted, ending:

"All honor to Jefferson — to the man who, in the concrete pressure of a struggle for national independence by a single people, had the coolness, foresight and capacity to introduce into a merely revolutionary document an abstract truth, applicable to all men and all times, and so to embalm it there that today, and in all coming days, it shall be a rebuke and a stumbling block to the harbingers of reappearing tyranny and oppression."

The Prince of Wales, later Edward VII, was reported to be on the way to Washington from Canada, traveling as Baron Renfrew.

"The campaign has begun," the *Tribune* said on July 11. The state central committee of which Medill was a member had taken charge of the arranging of dates for speakers and had stopped former confusion in this matter. There was special attention to Egypt (southern Illinois) "whence came a wail," the *Tribune* said, "deliver us from the pro-slavery Democracy."

Other matters were not overlooked. The *Tribune* called for a West Side union depot and started a campaign against any more railroad grade crossings. Good crops were reported and prosperity and peace were anticipated.

On July 20 the *Tribune* foresaw a 20,000 majority for Lincoln, judging from Illinois rallies in Pekin, Peoria, and other cities to which great crowds were attracted. It was reported

that Carl Schurz had a big rally in Springfield. The Scripps campaign biography was announced for sale on August 2 at the price of five cents. There were political reports from many towns.

" The prairies are on fire," announced the *Tribune.*

A reporter was sent to visit the prison at Joliet, where convicts were building their own prison. A two-column story resulted from his visit.

Lincoln was " at home " at Springfield on August 9, when 75,000 Republicans called on him, according to a dispatch to the *Tribune.* Among these were fifty Wide Awake clubs, marching in a procession ten miles long and taking three hours to pass Lincoln's home. Lincoln was almost mobbed at the Fair grounds and had to be lifted over the crowd to the platform. He spoke on nonpolitical subjects.

" The Douglasites have been taken with a distressing colic," said the *Tribune* reporter.

Full particulars of the Springfield meeting were printed on August 10.

" We are very sure," said the *Tribune,* " that this gathering was never surpassed in the West, if, indeed, in any part of the Union. It is convincing evidence of a spirit which will give a glorious victory in November."

That Medill kept in personal touch with Lincoln is shown in a letter which the candidate wrote to Congressman Washburne on September 9, 1860:

" Yours of the 5th received last evening. I was right glad to see it. It contains the freshest ' posting ' which I now have. It relieved me some from a little anxiety I had about Maine. Joe Medill on August 30 wrote me that Colfax had a letter from Mr. Hamlin saying we were in great danger of losing two members of Congress from Maine."

The Mechanics Fair and the visit of the Prince of Wales took up much of the *Tribune's* attention in August. Breckinridge, presidential nominee of the Southern Democrats, held a

Chicago rally on August 13 and was given a page-1 story and four columns.

In an editorial on the subject of disunion on August 14 the *Tribune* saw in a famine in the South and the contrasting fine harvests of the North the working of the hand of God. "To all who see the footprints of Divinity in national affairs these things are full of instruction," the *Tribune* gravely noted.

On August 28 three columns were devoted to a description of the exhibits at the Mechanics Fair, a kind of state fair, with thirty classes of exhibits.

Lincoln mass meetings were reported being held in other cities and five thousand Wide Awakes met at Peoria.

On September 10 the political sky was overshadowed by another big news event. The *Lady Elgin* passenger boat was lost in Lake Michigan. The *Tribune* devoted the whole of the first page to this tragedy and printed a second edition. The sinking had occurred on the 7th, off Winnetka. Three hundred lives were lost and the story of the survivors and the search for the bodies of those lost ran in the paper for several days. The *Tribune* collected relief funds.

A Republican ballot was printed to aid the voters and the Wide Awakes were asked to guard the polls.

A great rally for the Republican ticket was held at the Wigwam on October 3, with Senator Seward the chief speaker. Ten thousand Wide Awakes marched in a three-mile procession. The story of this rally occupied eight columns of the paper.

In the issue of October 5 Douglas' record on slavery covered a full page.

On October 10 election returns from Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana were hailed with great rejoicing as forecasting a Lincoln victory. Notices of Wide Awake meetings were run as a regular feature on page 1.

A "plot" to defeat Lincoln by branding him an extremist on slavery was discussed on October 13. In pursuit of this end

the opposition referred to the *Tribune* as " Lincoln's abolition organ," and it was sought to fasten on the candidate all of the antislavery opinions of the *Tribune*. The *Tribune* gave Lincoln's own record in reply.

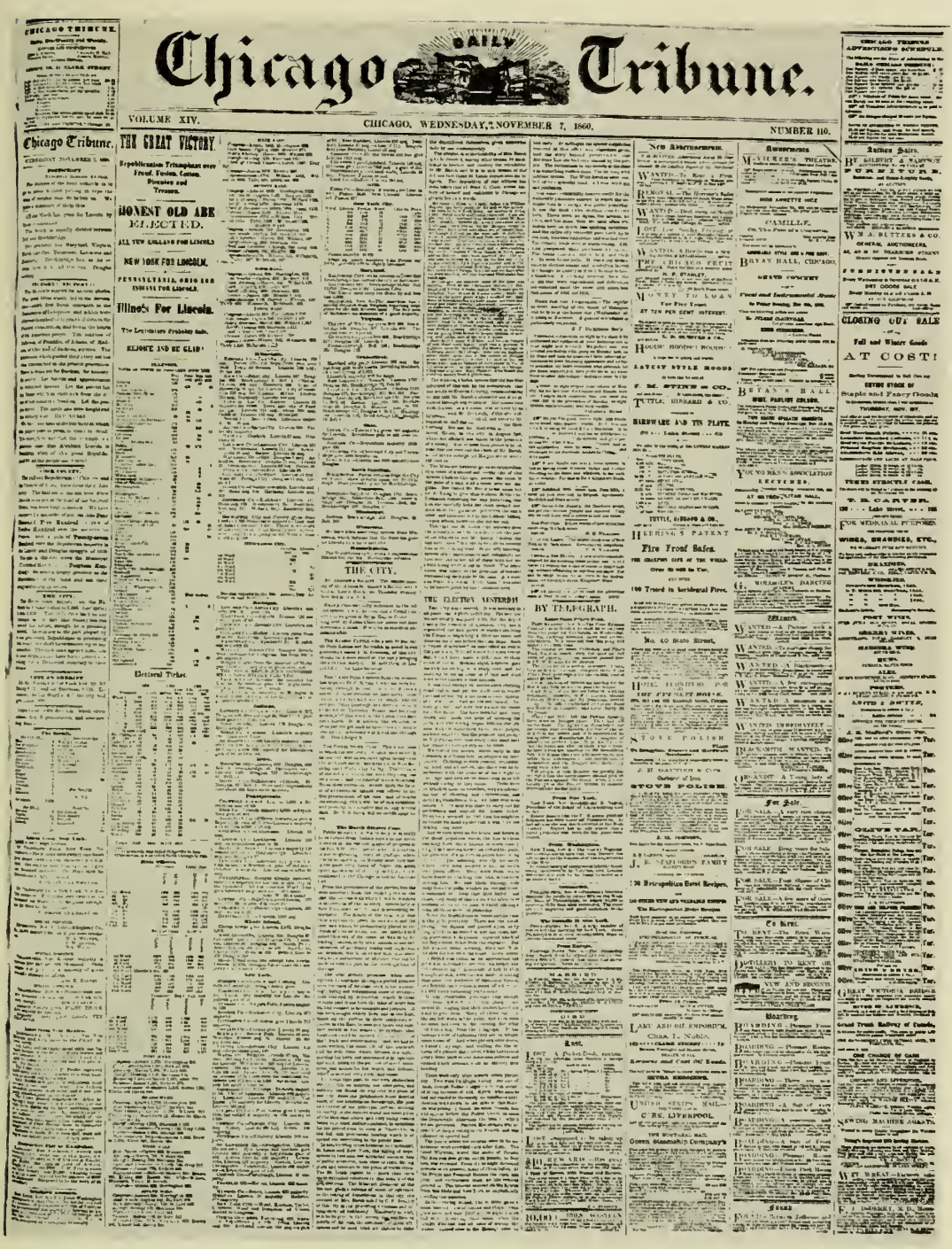
Secession talk became stronger, particularly in the *Charleston Mercury*. The *Tribune* made light of " disunion howls, encouraged by the *Chicago Times* and threatened by a few lunatics in the South."

" Silence the disunion howls by electing Lincoln," said the *Tribune* on October 24. " The North does not fear."

On November 1 the paper appeared again as the *Chicago Tribune*. The word *Press*, which had been a part of the name since 1858, was dropped.

The *Chicago Tribune* of which this journal is an outgrowth [it was stated] was founded in June, 1847. One of the present proprietors [Scripps] became connected with it, and with the exception of a few weeks in 1852, when with another of the present proprietors, he established the *Democratic Press*, he has been continuously connected with one branch or another of the consolidated journal up to the present time. There is an additional fitness, therefore, on this account for continuing the name under which this journal will henceforth be known.

The *Tribune* will be precisely what the *Press and Tribune* has been except insofar as greater experience and our constantly augmenting facilities may enable us from time to time to institute improvements. Changed in nothing but omission of part of its name, it will continue to be a live newspaper, fully up to the requirements of the city and country with which it is identified, a sleepless guardian of Constitutional freedom, the zealous advocate of whatever is found in truth, justice and humanity, and the upholder of whatever will contribute to the renown and true glory of our country. . . . We have reason to believe that no other secular journal in the United States, except the four leading dailies of New York City, equals the *Chicago Tribune* in circulation. This fact is to be attributed to a single cause – we make a journal that comes nearer meeting a public want than any other. It will speak no less boldly and freely its political opinions now that an administration pledged to their support is about to come into power.


Chicago Daily Tribune.

VOLUME XIV. CHICAGO, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1860. NUMBER 110.

THE GREAT VICTORY

Republicanism Triumphant over Fraud, Fusion, Lotion, Bargains and Treason.

HONEST OLD ABE ELECTED.

ALL NEW ENGLAND FOR LINCOLN.

NEW YORK FOR LINCOLN.

PENNSYLVANIA, OHIO AND INDIANA FOR LINCOLN.

Illinois For Lincoln.

The Legislature Probably Safe.

REJOICE AND BE GLAD!

Electoral Ticket.

THE CITY.

THE ELECTION YESTERDAY.

BY TELEGRAPH.

Fire Proof Safes.

100 Tested in Accidental Fires.

No. 40 Lake Street,

STOVE POLISH

STOVE POLISH

Closing Out Sale

Fall and Winter Goods

AT COST!

Grand Trunk Railway of Canada.

The Tribune's *first pages carried ads after the English custom. Even the election of Lincoln could not drive them off.*

As election day approached the *Tribune* warned against " invaders and repeaters " at the polls. " The disunionists of the South," it said, " would be put to shame."

Is the Union a rope of sand? This fight is for the rescue of free principles, for a good, honest, economical government, and for perpetuity of the Union.

It is a fight of White Men against the Black Power.

Men of Illinois, we must not lose it. There are the enemy. Up and at 'em!

A final rally was held at the Wigwam on November 5.

" New York and Illinois will decide," said the *Tribune* on November 6. " The labor of six years centers in this day. Be sure to vote. The results of the election will be received at the *Tribune* office, at the Wigwam and at the Tremont House and Briggs House."

" The Great Victory " was reported on November 7.

" Republicans Triumphant over Fraud, Fusion, Cotton, Disunion and Treason. Honest Old Abe Elected. New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois for Lincoln. Rejoice and be Glad."

Election day — the 6th of November — was reported to be a glorious day. In Chicago the election was quiet. Six or eight thousand people gathered at the Wigwam in the evening to get returns. Congressional and other returns were given on November 9.

" We are no prophets if the result of Tuesday does not settle disunion work," said the *Tribune*.

Two hundred guns were fired from the Randolph Street Bridge in celebration of the victory. The *Tribune* said that the Wide Awake clubs, marching sixteen abreast in torchlight procession, performed military evolutions in front of the Clark Street Office on the evening of November 8.

Chapter Twenty-One

THE SHADOWS OF WAR

As the year 1860 passed into history the *Tribune* recorded Lincoln's cabinet building and other preparations for office and the growing danger of war, symbolized by the situation at Fort Sumter. The *Tribune* editors regarded the election of Lincoln, whose character they well understood, as settling for all time the question of slavery. They were impatient with suggestions of compromise and peace negotiations, and seemed to welcome a war, declaring that Cook County alone could send enough men "to take care of the South Carolina traitors." There was a disposition to take the consequences of the election lightly and even joyfully, with little recognition of the terrible struggle ahead.

The editorial temper of the *Tribune* was subjected to swift changes in the few months following the election.

On November 8, telling of the election celebration, it said: "Thus is peacefully inaugurated a change in our government. There is to be no civil bloodshed growing out of this administration, but the Constitution and laws of the United States are to be quietly enforced during the next four years. South Carolina may fume and fulminate till the crack of doom."

November 9 — "Now while in the flush of triumph achieved after years of waiting and working, while the smoke of the conflict is in our garments, it will be wise and discreet of Republicans to avoid all causes of additional irritation and to convince the people of the South by our words and acts that we

are not half so fierce and ravenous as we have been represented — that we are still their countrymen — bound to them by a thousand ties, which we would not rupture if we could! "

A dispatch from Springfield on November 10 said that Lincoln was about town as usual, sitting in the social circle at the Chenery House. There was no news on the Cabinet, no new statement of principles from Lincoln.

For the benefit of the Eastern Cabinet speculators, the *Tribune* said: " We have not exchanged a word with Mr. Lincoln on these subjects since he was nominated, nor before that, for that matter. But this much we do know that if Mr. Lincoln is committed to anything it is to the policy of treating slavery as being wrong, with due regard to the difficulties of getting rid of it in a peaceful way."

On November 21 the Burch divorce case climax was given most of the first page, with a half-column telling of a Lincoln jubilee meeting in Springfield. The candidate made a brief speech, which was reported. He did not cherish any hard feelings toward those who had voted against him; he said: " Let us at all times remember that all American citizens are brothers of a common country and should dwell together in bonds of fraternal feeling."

Lincoln had not decided upon his Cabinet by November 22, the *Tribune* reported. He was seeking to form a Union party in the South and to appoint some secretaries from that section. He was receiving a dozen atrocious letters a day and he had been informed that there was an organized band, or brotherhood, in the South, every member of which had taken an oath to compass the President's death.

On November 24 the Burch case still had precedence in the news, with a brief story of a reception for Lincoln and Hamlin held at the Tremont House. This was Lincoln's last visit to Chicago. The city was not to see him again until it viewed his body in his funeral procession en route to Springfield.

" The visit of the President and Vice-President-elect to this

city, their first interview since the nominations, has made Chicago the center of much interest during the past week," said the *Tribune*. "Yielding to the very general desire of the citizens to see the gallant standard bearers of Republicanism, yesterday morning was fixed upon for the reception in the parlors of the Tremont House, between the hours of 10 and 12. The day was the most inclement of the season thus far, cold and snowy, and with general winter aspects abroad, yet the people were not at home. . . . For two hours and a half the crowd moved. Mr. Lincoln shook hands with each. At the right stood Mrs. Lincoln and Mr. Hamlin."

Editorially the *Tribune* said:

"The election of Lincoln means only that the people are tired of the slavery question, due to the attempt to enlarge the boundaries of slavery. Republicans deny the power of Lincoln or the administration to interfere with slavery in states, to oppress those communities where it is saddled, or to use federal arms to destroy or weaken the tenure of property declared to be such by local law."

The Wigwam was about to be razed and the *Tribune* led a movement to save it. The building was bought by the Garrett Biblical Institute.

Talk of disunion continued, despite the mildness of the Republican attitude. The *Tribune* on December 4 offered to stop the trend toward war by this method:

"Let Georgia, South Carolina and Mississippi, instead of spending a million each for gunpowder and arms, appropriate that for circulation of Republican journals and to encourage Republican orators. We offer the *Chicago Tribune*, if 40,000 copies are needed, at greatly reduced rates. Who has a cheaper and better plan?"

Peacemakers and compromisers were busy at Washington. The *Tribune* said on December 5:

"No, not an inch! Compromise makers have begun. Others may do as they please, but this journal stands where it has al-

ways stood: it concedes nothing that weakens the worth of the great triumph over that infernally despotic institution which has debauched the national consciousness and now strives to emasculate the national courage."

A week later the *Tribune* admitted that there was no possibility of peaceable secession.

"If war must come it ought to be waged in defense of the Constitution as our Fathers made it. War is the last, the very last act to be resorted to by children of common parentage. Let it be avoided by every sacrifice short of the legacy left us in the Constitution of the United States."

The Washington letter of December 19 told of efforts to revise the Constitution, giving guaranties to slavery.

"These men," the correspondent said, "are dreaming of founding a great slave-holding empire extending from the mouth of the Chesapeake to the Orinoco, taking in Mexico and Central America and the islands of the Gulf."

It was rumored that the garrison of sixty men at Fort Moultrie was to be attacked by Charleston forces, and that six states would soon secede. General Scott gave President Buchanan his opinion on the military defense of the nation. A scheme was reported in Washington to prevent the inauguration of Lincoln.

The *Tribune* grew wrathy over atrocities to Northern men and to Lincoln men in the South.

"How long shall we be compelled to note the daily violations of the Constitution?" they asked on December 20. "How long must the mails be closed against Northern papers and letters?"

The South Carolina convention assembled.

"Settle the question now," said the *Tribune*.

On December 28 the "progress of treason" was reported in the situation at Fort Sumter, to which Colonel Anderson had transferred his sixty-six men.

"What shall we say," asked the *Tribune*, "of the hoary

headed traitor in the White House and his villain accomplices — the sworn defenders of the Constitution? We are of the opinion that no good end will be served by permitting them longer to go unimpeached."

"The question of the hour is — shall the Union be preserved?"

On December 29 a map of Charleston was printed on the front page, the first of many such maps to appear in the *Tribune*. Jefferson Davis had put out an ultimatum to the peace makers. Slaves recognized by local law must stand on a footing with other property, and not be subject to any legislative act of the United States or territories.

"What will the North do?" the *Tribune* asked. "The time for action has come."

Reports of sentiment from all over the North were printed. It was discovered that there were only thirty muskets in the United States arsenal at Springfield. On December 31 the Charleston seceders were still in session, troops were coming into the city, and money was being raised.

"It is rumored and believed," said the *Tribune*, "that there will be an armed incursion into Washington on or before March 4 whose chief object shall be the assassination of the President and Vice-President.

"If a million men are needed to thwart this let the money be voted and the columns be put in motion. The small county of Cook, in the state of Illinois, will turn out enough men, if required, to restore peace in South Carolina. The sentiment is universal that an appeal must be had to the only argument that traitors understand."

Horace White wrote to Senator Trumbull late in December: "It is perhaps no particular concern of mine, but I take the liberty of saying that while every man I meet [Republican or Democratic] is perfectly frantic in view of the treason being consummated, all are cheered by the prospect of a good hearty fight on or about March 4, a square knock-down and

drag out. True people are becoming very impatient for the impeachment of Buchanan and Floyd [John B. Floyd, Secretary of War] and unless something of that kind is started very soon you will hear thunder from the Northwest. We live in Revolutionary times, and I say 'God bless the Revolution.' "

Part II

1861 ❁ 1865

Chapter One

THE WAR YEARS

THE SECOND major period of the history of the *Chicago Tribune* began with the Civil War. From 1861 to 1865, under one management, it attained maturity as a newspaper and became the strongest editorial voice of the Northwest for the preservation of the Union and the emancipation of slaves. It had been largely responsible for the nomination and election of Lincoln, and now it became partly responsible for the consequences, the carrying out of the policies of the new Republican party on which Lincoln had stood. If this could not be done without the force of arms, then there must be war, but the principle for which the North fought, a strong, federal Union superior to the states, became a " holy cause " with the *Tribune* editors.

While as individuals the *Tribune* editors suffered from the conflict and were at times dismayed by the violent tide of events, the paper never faltered in its support of Lincoln and the war. It sent members of its own staff, organized companies and home defense leagues, raised funds for relief and for bounties to soldiers, and fought daily battles with the " Copperhead " politicians and newspapers in Chicago and elsewhere. In the judgment of its friendly contemporaries in Rockford, Jacksonville, and other cities of Illinois, Michigan, and Indiana, its leadership grew throughout the Northwest. The *Rockford*

Reporter said that the *Tribune* had been as effective against the rebellion as an army corps in the field. It led the way on the slavery issue, in the fight against wildcat money, and in the development of railroads, and it prospered with the prosperity of Chicago, the new center of commerce in the midlands.

The four months succeeding Lincoln's election were the most critical period in his life and in the history of the nation, according to Horace White, who became a part owner and associate editor of the *Tribune* during the latter part of the war.

"It is the commonly accepted belief," Mr. White wrote, "that Lincoln was, in this interval, the chief barrier against any surrender of the principles upon which he had been elected. This belief is well founded. If there had been a compromise on the question of slavery both sides would have used the interval of mock peace to prepare for war, and the irrepressible conflict would have come later."

The whole course of national history, perhaps of world history, was changed by this conflict. It was a strife between the principle of a loose, weak union of sovereign states, and the principle of centralism or federal authority. Its results continue to this day and enter into the present world conflict over what kind of government will best serve mankind. In that civil conflict the *Tribune* was an uncompromising voice, talking of peace advocates as "peace sneaks," offering no peace except by submission to the Federal Union and the voice of the majority that had elected Lincoln. And that was the way it worked out.

The *Tribune* editors were close critics of military strategy. They early discerned promise in Ulysses S. Grant. Their outlook on these matters was purely pragmatic – results count. The general wins or he does not win. Though at first they endorsed George B. McClellan, they developed a violent dislike for him and his tactics and they led in the campaign against him, both while he was in and while he was out of the army. They led the way to the second nomination of Lincoln, as

they had to the first, and found his re-election essential to the preservation of the nation, as necessary as the rising of the sun. They were often impatient with the President, as he was with them, but they spoke for him on dark days as well as in victory, and were guided always by their principles, which coincided with his.

The *Tribune* during this second period of its history maintained and increased the independence and courage which had always characterized it. It conceived of itself as the metropolitan press, above friends who sought favors, standing for no class but for the common good, independent and financially sound because it had the support of the people, who wanted a bold, independent press. The *Tribune* passed through periods of boycott and other organized attack, but emerged to enter reconstruction days with its principles vindicated and its base of support wide and sound.

The *Tribune's* circulation during this period went from 20,000 to 40,000 or more. It was probably read by a quarter of a million people. Its campaign specials and pamphlets went into every home and into the army camps. By 1864 it had a payroll of 265, including eighteen editors and reporters. With the retirement of Dr. Charles H. Ray in November, 1863, Joseph Medill became the editor in chief and Horace White his associate. The paper had twenty-nine correspondents in Washington and the Western capitals and with the armies. One man was kept with the Army of the Potomac and four were with Sherman. There was a correspondent in Paris, but none in London. A Hoe four-cylinder press was installed early in 1861 and used until 1864, when an eight-cylinder press was brought from New York.

In 1861 the *Tribune* editors thought the war would be short and that the big demand for the *Tribune* would then fall off, but in that they were mistaken. The war was long and the demand continued and never stopped growing. Telegraph expenses mounted during the war from $1,200 to $12,000 a year

and the telegraphic correspondents cost $12,000 more in salaries. A sum of $160,000 was spent for paper alone during the last year of the war.

To give the reader a glance at scattered minor items appearing in the *Tribune* in a typical week early in 1861 the following excerpts, largely from local news, are presented:

FIRES. – The fat horses of the Fire Department had abundant and healthy exercise on Saturday, when three fires occurred, two of them in remote quarters of the city.

PRIZE FIGHTING. – For some time there has been, it now appears, in preparation a prize fight between two Irish pugilists, Jerry Donovan and John McGlade. Both these worthies have recently been driven from the South, where better men have been hanged. The match settled, $200 was put up as the stake on each side. Donovan was declared the victor in 12 rounds.

CAPT. JOHN BROWN, JR. – On their way from the depot, Capt. John Brown, Jr., [son of the famous abolitionist] halted his troops in front of the Tribune office, and sang the song, " John Brown's Body Lies a Mouldering in the Grave," in fine style, gave three rousing cheers, and proceeded to their quarters.

COW STEALING. – Charles Nash was brought up before yesterday's Police Court charged with the larceny of a cow from Henry Cummings. The animal was taken from the prairie, where she was feeding, and found by the owner in a slaughter house just in time to save her life and his property.

RACING ON CLARK STREET. – Racing on Clark Street is assuming the shape of a positive nuisance. Every afternoon draymen, hackmen, and teamsters insist upon making a race course of this street, and urging their horses to top speed to the detriment of more temperate drivers. It is time that these reckless Jehus were taught their duty by a stringent application of the city ordinance, and in the name of the public we call the attention of the police commissioners to the fact and ask that it be stopped.

HALSTED STREET BRIDGE. – This structure, commenced at a period beyond the memory of that much abused individual – the oldest inhabitant – is now fully completed, and has been in travelling order for the past two or three days.

PERSONAL. – James Hackett, New York, W. H. Whitney, New York, and H. H. Harrison, Milwaukee, are among the new

arrivals at the Tremont House. Hon. Elihu Washburne, Galena, Gov. Barstrow, Wisconsin, and E. C. Baker, Cincinnati, are stopping at the Sherman House. Miss Dix, head of the female nurses in our army, was in this city yesterday, and left last evening for Washington. While here she was the guest of E. W. Blatchford.

MATT PEEL'S MINSTRELS. – This popular troupe will reopen in this city at Bryan Hall Monday evening.

AN ELEGANT RESIDENCE SOLD. – Hon. F. C. Sherman has sold his former elegant residence, corner of Michigan Avenue and Van Buren Street, with the furniture, to Denton Gurnee, Esq., for $23,000. The price originally paid for the house was about $20,000. At such figures for property there surely was never a better time to invest in Chicago. Strangers will please make a note of this fact.

MR. HACKETT. – This renowned comedian commences his engagement at McVicker's theater on Monday evening, appearing as Falstaff in King Henry IV. This announcement will be sufficient to fill the theater.

POLICE UNIFORMS. – Today it is proposed that the city police appear in their new uniform, blue coat and grey pants with blue stripe, and blue cloth caps, with a neat number. The buttons were made to order and are embossed "Chicago Police." A new regulation of the Police Commissioners prescribes whiskers à la militaire and taboos moustaches.

MUSICAL. – The citizens of Chicago may congratulate themselves that we again have among us Mr. Franz Staab. He is the organist of Trinity Church. Messrs. Root and Cady, music dealers, have just issued two new pieces of music – "Oh! Leave Me Not," song by Mrs. Isaac C. Bates, and the "Amateur March," composed by James Murfee, Jr.

NEW SCHOOL. – The contract is let and the work commenced for a new public school building on Wabash Avenue, south of 12th Street. It will be one of the largest in the city and will cost $18,000.

CITY DIRECTORY. – The new Chicago Directory is to be issued today to subscribers, by Messrs. Bailey & Halpin, the publishers.

CIRCUS. – Antonio Brothers' great show, with Jas. Merrill's Australian circus, will exhibit in this city on the old show lot, on Washington Street.

CITY IMPROVEMENTS. – We notice that the noble new

business block on the site of the old American House, on the corner of Lake Street and Wabash Avenue, is already enclosed. It is a noble building, one of the finest in the city. Messrs. Barrett, Powell & Co., manufacturers of Felt and Composition Roofing, No. 8 Masonic Temple, are putting on the new block one of their approved and excellent Composition Roofs.

MAJ. GENERAL FRÉMONT. – Last week Gen. Frémont had engaged rooms for his occupancy at the Tremont House. On Wednesday night, Messrs. Gage Bros. & Drake received a dispatch from Gen. F., stating that he had been obliged to forego his intention of passing through this city on his way to St. Louis.

PRIZE SPEAKING. – The Freshman class of the University of Chicago will have a public exercise in declamation, in the First Baptist Church, at 7½ o'clock this Monday evening. Two premiums will be awarded by the Regents. The programme is varied, and comprises some pieces that will thoroughly test the speakers' ability. Here is one!

THE LADIES' BEAU IDEAL

Genteel in personage
Conduct, and equipage,
Noble by heritage,
    Generous and free.

Brave and romantic;
Learn'd, not pedantic;
Frolic, not frantic;
    This must he be.

Honor maintaining
Meanness disdaining,
Still entertaining,
    Engaging and new.

Neat, but not finical:
Sage, but not cynical;
Never tyrannical,
    But ever true.

Chapter Two

ON THE EVE OF CONFLICT

True history, according to Max Nordau, can only be interpreted by a day-by-day view of a whole people, humanity in the rough, activated by its obscure psychology, moved by its whole environment and by its complex inheritance. Certain motives are elemental, such as the preservation of life and property, and curiosity. It is the latter urge that the newspaper satisfies, in a mass way at least, and it is only in the day-by-day story, as given in newspaper history, that the true picture of the war period, or any other period, can be given.

As recorded in the *Tribune*, the Civil War was a slow, disheartening, fumbling affair, blazing at times into glory, but requiring courage and patience above all. While Lincoln balanced delicate political forces, guiding events partly by political considerations and partly by military strategy, the *Tribune* was for plunging ahead, finding slavery the central issue and the cause of the war and early demanding its removal.

On January 1, 1861, with state after state seceding and the question of supporting Major Robert Anderson and his men at Fort Sumter still being debated, the *Tribune* called for the impeachment of President Buchanan.

"In view of the miserable spectacle which the country now presents — treason and rebellion in the South, treason and scheming in the Cabinet, and indignation filling the hearts of the people, energetic patriotism, which holds self and party as nothing if they stand in the way, is demanded."

Compromise? No, said the *Tribune*, as futile peace delegations met in Washington.

"Amend the Constitution to guarantee the rights of property in man? [as Senator Jefferson Davis wanted] No! The Constitution as it is and as the conservative men of the country would preserve it; or a Constitution just as its enemies would shape it – which will the Northwest have?"

On New Year's Day, 1861, the *Tribune* printed two and a half pages in its annual review of Chicago commerce. The receipts of grain had doubled and the provision trade had increased during the year.

"The prospects of Chicago becoming the leading commercial center of the great Northwest were never so flattering as now."

The New Year, said the *Tribune*, had slipped smilingly into place. "It was the perfection of a winter's day, with excellent sleighing to match. Everybody seemed content to forget for a while J. Buchanan and his nightmare, leaks in the money chest and tight times generally."

The rivers and ponds were alive with skaters. McVicker's theater was crowded. There was a concert and fair at Bryan Hall. The Walker omnibus furnished rides north and south.

"What a sight!" said the *Tribune* in an editorial on the vital national issues. "The leading politicians of a great and once liberty loving and patriotic party, the chief executive officer of the government and a full half of the people of one section of the Republic are plotting and conspiring against the perpetuity of the fairest political fabric ever built by human hands, and promoting civil war between brothers. And for what? That the representatives of a little oligarchy of 347,000 slave holders may have the privilege, not authorized by the Constitution, of buying, selling, working without pay and whipping at will, men, women and children in the territories made free. We are not the advocates of a policy which will bring slavery

to a sudden end at the point of a bayonet but we insist that the Union and the supremacy of the Constitution be maintained."

Notice of a public meeting to be held at Bryan Hall on the evening of January 5 was given.

"All citizens of Chicago, without distinction of party, who are in favor of standing by the Constitution and the Union are requested to meet on Saturday evening for expressing their sentiments in relation thereto."

This call was signed by one hundred citizens, including Editors Ray, Bross, and White. It was the beginning of a nonpartisan movement, the merging of the Republicans into the Union party, which lasted through the war and which won the support of many antislavery Democrats.

Joseph Medill had returned to Washington as correspondent, signing his letters "Chicago." He reported that the Palmetto flag had been raised over the custom house and postoffice at Charleston, that the Union Saving Committee had collapsed, and that Pennsylvania was ready to vote $3,000,000 to arm its militia.

"Civil war is on the eve of breaking out," Medill said in a letter of January 1. "Treason is stalking forth in the light of day and comforted by the administration itself. The men in power, from the President down, are busy sapping and mining the foundations of the Union. The universal cry that comes to this capital, borne on the wings of the northern wind, is that the forts at Charleston, in possession of the insurgents, must be retaken and the Stars and Stripes shall again float over the national property. The North is patient, slow to anger and long-suffering, but when aroused is terrible in her wrath. Let the nigger drivers beware how they sow the wind and reap the whirlwind."

This dispatch had something of the temper of Julia Ward Howe's *Battle Hymn of the Republic*, glimpsing the "terrible swift sword."

Reports that Lincoln's inauguration would be prevented by a mob were characterized by the *Tribune* on January 3 as "unnecessary fears."

General Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, who was said to be Lincoln's choice for Secretary of War, urged that the inauguration proceed, declaring that Pennsylvania alone, if necessary, would guarantee Lincoln's safe passage to the White House.

The *Tribune* was flooded with letters and appeals to the government to reorganize the militia and arm the state at once. The Wide Awakes, the Douglas Invincibles, and other semi-military groups were ready to volunteer, but state action at the time was blocked at Springfield, where a legislature was in power which sympathized largely with the Southern Democrats. The political divisions which were to persist throughout the war and which were to engage almost as much attention as military movements, were already apparent in Illinois.

Chapter Three

CABINET MAKING; A POSTMASTERSHIP

Abraham Lincoln down in Springfield in January, 1861, was reported in the *Tribune* as "calmly and coolly completing his arrangements" to take over the government.

In the matter of selecting the Cabinet, which was the chief political discussion of the winter, the *Tribune* took a decided stand against the appointment of General Cameron as Secretary of War and wanted Governor Salmon P. Chase of Ohio given a place. Chase, as noted elsewhere in this volume, had

always been a close friend of Medill, and neither Medill nor Dr. Ray trusted Cameron. Horace White also opposed the Cameron appointment.

White at this time accused Cameron of being dishonest, but this was never proved, and even later the worst said of the old general was that his friends had profited by his power. Cameron remained Lincoln's friend and supporter to the end.

Dr. Ray, in a letter to Congressman Elihu B. Washburne in January of 1861, opposed the influence with Lincoln of Cameron, Thurlow Weed, New York Republican editor-politician, and Caleb B. Smith of Indiana, who became Secretary of the Interior as the result of another convention deal. Dr. Ray thought such a Cabinet would be a catastrophe. He urged that protests and pressure be brought upon Lincoln. " If we die at all for Old Abe we must die right here," he wrote.

Lincoln was forming his Cabinet largely from those who had opposed him in the convention, his rivals who had previously had a poor opinion of him. He was not concerned particularly about rewarding his friends or punishing his enemies. He knew he had a hard task ahead of him and he was intent on getting strong advisers and administrators who would command the widest possible support.

William H. Herndon, Lincoln's law partner, writes in his biography of Lincoln of receiving a letter during this interval from Medill, which he was asked to pass on to Lincoln. It was a strong protest against the appointment of Cameron and it worried Lincoln. But before long it became apparent that the *Tribune* was not to have a great voice in the make-up of the Lincoln Cabinet, nor was any other person or organization. Lincoln listened to advice from many quarters but seldom followed it. The *Tribune* offered advice many times in military and political affairs but when it was ignored the paper did not lose faith in or friendship for Lincoln. The " cause," which was the Union, was the chief consideration in the mind of Lincoln, as it was in the minds of the *Tribune* editors.

As matters turned out the Cameron appointment was made but it proved to be unsatisfactory and Lincoln had to remove him, sending him into the diplomatic service. The genesis of the appointment was in a promise that Judge David Davis, Lincoln's convention manager, had made to the Pennsylvania delegation controlled by Cameron, in a critical moment of the pre-convention dickering in "smoke-filled rooms." While Lincoln had publicly opposed all such deals and promises, he kept the pledges made for him.

In a minor matter at this time the *Tribune* did bring strong pressure on Lincoln. The Chicago postmastership was desired by Ebenezer Peck, one of Lincoln's early and strong supporters, and by Charles Wilson, editor of the *Chicago Journal*, a Republican organ. The *Tribune* offered John Locke Scripps, at the moment the *Tribune's* chief editor, for the post. Dr. Ray sought help from Senator Trumbull and others, for this appointment had to go through orthodox political channels.

"We want the office," Dr. Ray wrote to Senator Trumbull, "not wholly for the money there is in it, but as a means of extending and insuring our business and extending the influence of the *Tribune*. We claim to have done as much for Lincoln and the Republican cause as any other agency in Illinois and we do not see why our claim should be denied, nor why in the division of rewards our wishes should not be respected if confined to the modest place in which we would like Mr. Scripps installed. We do not want to go into a fight for this thing but if one is forced upon us why we must do the best we can and oppose whomever stands in the way."

Medill also entered the postmastership fray, writing to Trumbull:

"If Mr. Scripps had the office the country postmasters of the Northwest would work to extend our circulation and while this would greatly help our firm it would also benefit the party and promote the legitimate influence of our paper. You see that the effect would be vastly more beneficial to us

JOHN LOCKE SCRIPPS

He became part owner and editor of the Tribune *in 1848, and again in 1858. He was a friend and biographer of Lincoln and was appointed postmaster of Chicago in 1861. He established the business reports of the* Tribune *and guided it through the critical period of depression in 1858.*

HORACE WHITE

Editor in chief of the Tribune *from 1866 to 1874, and later editor of the* New York Evening Post.

than to any individual and in our hands can be made greatly useful to the Republican cause."

Lincoln finally appointed Scripps, who served until 1865, but this experience in job hunting with Lincoln was not much to the liking of Medill, as he disclosed in a Washington letter later.

National Fast Day was observed in Chicago on January 4, 1861, and three columns were given to reporting the church services. The following letter was printed from Dowagiac, Michigan:

> A large package of your papers is daily distributed from the news depot of this village. It constitutes our principal political text book; and the thanks of all Republicans of this region are due to you for the brave, manly, patriotic course in the crisis which treason and corruption have conspired to bring upon the country. Would to heaven that all our organs of the press, all our political leaders, all our professedly Republican members of Congress, were inspired with the courage, the just appreciation of public sentiment, the firm fidelity to the Chicago platform, and therein, to the Constitution of the United States as our Fathers framed it, which characterizes the *Chicago Tribune*.

Chapter Four

THE WIND FROM THE NORTH

It was demonstrated in Chicago in January of 1861, while the war clouds were darkening, that there was unity in one idea, the preservation of the Union. This was the "wind from the North" that Medill wrote about in Washington. The Democrats were still against abolition of slavery. They called it fa-

naticism and they were not going to war on that account. The *Tribune* had not yet embraced emancipation as a way out. Emancipation was still regarded as "radical."

A war mass meeting held in Bryan Hall on January 5 was reported in full: "One fact developed," it was stated in the *Tribune*. "There is no division of sentiment in Chicago on the question of maintaining the Union at all hazards. The meeting was presided over by a Democrat. The committee on resolutions was composed of influential citizens of both parties. The resolutions adhered to the Jacksonian declaration — the Union must and shall be preserved. We can hold no parley with traitors with arms in their hands."

Isaac N. Arnold said at this meeting: "It is time for the Northwest to be heard in behalf of the Union, the Constitution and the laws, not as the voice of any party but of the people at large. It may be we are on the eve of civil war. I believe this country is worth fighting for. It is not to be given up without a fight. Let us send forth from Chicago a united voice."

On January 8 the *Tribune* reported that its circulation had now reached an "aggregate considerably beyond most sanguine expectations — the present rate of increase is greater than ever before. Cash receipts and subscriptions for the week ending Saturday last were $4,223." Two and one half columns were printed on the message of Governor Wood of Illinois, "showing evidence of sound prosperity, unquestioned credit, plethoric treasury and a future of fairest promise."

A Morris, Illinois, dispatch announced that thirty-three guns were fired in honor of the besieged Major Anderson at Fort Sumter. "Little Grundy is ready to do her duty on March 4 if Lincoln needs help."

The *Tribune* said it had "only words of denunciation for any resolution or scheme that contemplates surrender of one iota of principles on which the late Republican triumph was

achieved. The day of compromise has gone by. The Republican party stands on the Constitution and the laws."

Medill's Washington letter of January 8 told of a plot set for February 15, the day the presidential votes were to be counted. Armed minute men from a dozen states were to gather at Washington, make a dash for the Capitol, shoot down prominent Republicans, break up the vote counting, disperse Congress, and start a reign of terror. Maryland and Virginia were expected to rise in revolt. The venerable General Winfield Scott was reported as making adequate preparations, with three companies of artillery in or near Washington, and three or four men-of-war in the river, and the mayor was enrolling 4,000 volunteers.

"Abandon all idea of having the oath administered to Lincoln in Springfield or anywhere else," Medill wrote, "save on the east portico of the Capitol. The American people will listen to no other suggestion. The wind blows from the North this time. Any attempt to seize the capital, or the archives of government or to prevent the inauguration of the President-elect, will be resisted by a million men in arms."

This day (January 8) was the anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans, and flags were raised and salutes fired. The steamer *Star of the West* was fired upon from Morris Island in Charleston Harbor as it attempted to take supplies to Anderson and his men.

"We have come upon a new era," said the *Tribune*. "We know our country is large, but will it hold together? Has it the elements of a stable government? Our flag is beautiful and striking, but are its colors fast? . . . Truly, the animal man is not ready for the millennium, nor the Congress of Nations. The present dark horizon may clear up, but it has aroused the military spirit, not to be equally drowsy again in two decades."

About this time the Chicago and North Western railroad opened its line to Neenah, Wisconsin. It was to go on to Ap-

pleton and in a few years to the iron and copper mines of Lake Superior.

The *Tribune* now began a regular column on "Items on the Progress of Treason," printing stories from Southern papers. It scanned these papers closely during the war period and kept the North informed of the attitude of the South in each succeeding stage of the struggle.

In early January, news items in the paper included a call for a meeting of citizens in Metropolitan Hall. Senator William H. Seward of New York was named by Lincoln as Secretary of State. Mississippi went out of the Union. Lincoln at Springfield was given a gold-headed cane by a California admirer, and had as a caller, farmer Jones of Indiana, for whom he had once worked at a wage of $1 a day.

Thirty freight boats were held up by rebel elements at Cairo, Illinois, and it was announced that the guns of Vicksburg would stop all unauthorized river traffic.

"It is proper to ask the people of Illinois," said the *Tribune*, "whether they desire to see a foreign nation established between themselves and the Gulf of Mexico." Insurance policies were canceled on Mississippi River shipments. "Our merchants," the paper commented, "have a stake in this matter. . . . The love of Union does not touch, it destroys all party lines."

The National Hotel was opened at Van Buren and State Streets. At McVicker's Theater, during a performance of *The Invincible Prince*, a chance reference was made to Major Anderson and "the entire audience rose to their feet, ladies waved their handkerchiefs and cheer after cheer resounded through the edifice."

From Vienna, Illinois, it was reported that bloodhounds had run down a free Negro and he was brought to town and sold to the highest bidder.

Mob violence was reported in southern Illinois on January 14, when the Rev. James M. West was attacked in his home at

Broad Oak, Pope County. The *Tribune* warned against excessive state expenditure, saying that money would be needed for "the sinews of war." Alabama seceded and there began a struggle to hold Indiana in the Union.

The inaugural address of Governor Richard Yates was printed on January 15, in five columns, starting on page 1.

"The foot of the traitor has never yet blasted the greensward of the state of Illinois," said Yates. "Our running waters of the Northwest are waters of freedom and Union, and come what will, as they glide to the great Gulf, they will ever, by the ordinance of '87 and by the higher ordinance of Almighty God, bear only free men and free trade upon their bosom, or their channels will be filled with the commingled blood of traitors, cowards and slaves."

An important speech by Senator Seward in the United States Senate was given four and one half columns.

Democratic journals of the North were asked to "stop lying." "There is no time to be lost – let the *Chicago Times* lead off."

From Washington, Medill reported that all forts and government property in the cotton states had been seized by the rebels. Charleston, South Carolina, was the place to meet this trouble, he said. He called it the Tory headquarters of the Revolution and said they had been plotting treason there ever since.

"A call for volunteers will be responded to from every school district in every loyal state. Short work can be made of the whole matter."

The citizens' meeting at Metropolitan Hall was reported in full. "It betokened," said the *Tribune*, "a determination on the part of the people to cast their lot for the Union and the Constitution at all hazards and to the last extremity. It was the spirit of 1776, rekindled in the bosoms of the worthy children of the first American Revolution."

But S. S. Hayes, chairman of this meeting, said that the

Democratic party was the sole reliance of the Union.

"Be generous for the sake of peace," he said. "Roll back the tide of fanaticism and abolitionism and the love of Union will return to the minds of our Southern brethren."

The *Tribune*, it will be seen, was "radical" at this juncture. It frowned upon the peacemakers and made little distinction between them and "traitors."

Chapter Five

THE *TRIBUNE* AND THE FIRE-EATERS

THE *Tribune's* annual "prospectus" for this memorable year of 1861, published late in January, made perfectly clear what its readers might expect to hear from it during the impending struggle. Its war was against the "fire-eaters" of the slave states, and its call was to support Lincoln and the Union against the demands of the "Southern oligarchy." There must be no compromise, no surrender.

Correspondents were asked on January 16 "to give us the facts in a few words." The editors were swamped, they said, with contributions, "some from gentlemen of ability and culture," and the paper did not like to ignore them, yet had no space to print these contributions because of the urgency of the news.

Two Democratic factions were in strife at a convention in Springfield. A Chicago delegation was seeking legislation for a lake-front park. Full particulars were given of the firing on the *Star of the West*, the steamer which had set out to provision Fort Sumter's defenders. Articles from Artemus Ward, who was one of Lincoln's favorite authors, gave a lighter touch

to the gloomy news. Medill, commenting on Seward's speech in the Senate, wrote from Washington:

"He spoke as the prime minister of the new administration. He offers the South faithful observance of the Fugitive Slave Act, with some modifications. As it is unscrupulously charged that the Republicans intend to interfere with slavery in the states, Seward proposes a Constitutional amendment denying that power to Congress or the states forever. He proposes two railroads to the Pacific, one for the South, and a Constitutional convention in two years. It was a conciliatory speech, one that will reach thousands of minds and cause them to pause, wonder and shudder before taking the fatal plunge in dissolution of the Union."

On January 18 the Chicago Typographical Union held its ninth annual festival. The toast to the press was responded to by William Bross, as follows:

"Its power reposing in the hands of the gentleman, the scholar and the patriot, may it continue to mark the progress of time with the footprints of civilization."

In the paper at this time there were science and travel articles and a column on *Farm and Garden*, which became a regular weekly feature.

A single hope was left, the *Tribune* said on January 19 of the secession movement. This was that South Carolina would make a determined assault on Fort Sumter and slaughter the commander and his men.

"Then, perhaps, the North will arise and vindicate the Constitution and laws, and teach the South that this country and government were not made wholly for slaveholders." In Chicago, the paper said, ten thousand men were anxious to make the attempt to teach the South a lesson.

Medill reported in the January 21 issue that President Buchanan had taken the ground that he would not resort to coercion of the rebels. "He says that if there is to be any fighting, his successor will have to do it. He will give no other pledge

than to preserve peace in this district on March 4. The imbecile old creature has completely shown the white feather since the '*Star of the West*' was cannonaded by the insurgents. But the country has only to endure six weeks more of this miserable cowardice, incompetence and disloyalty."

Kansas was taken in as a free state of the Union on January 29, and Georgia adopted the ordinance of secession. Horace Greeley was due to arrive in Chicago that week. The *Tribune* speculated as to whether Norman B. Judd would get a place in the Cabinet. Although Judd was the organizer of the Lincoln campaign and had been his efficient supporter for years, he was not to be appointed to the office he desired, but was later taken into the diplomatic service, while Ebenezer Peck, another "original" Lincoln man, who felt bitter about losing the postmastership, was elevated to the Federal Bench.

The Tremont House was improved with a new dining room, and a forty-foot frontage on Lake Street, the *Tribune* said on January 22. A call was issued this day, signed by one hundred and fifty citizens, including Horace White, for a young men's meeting. "Believing our country in danger, our flag insulted, the Constitution violated, young men of Chicago of the age of 30 and under, who are opposed to all concessions and compromises of Freedom against Slavery, will meet in Metropolitan Hall on January 25."

The *Tribune* scolded some of the clergymen for "their easy going toleration of treason."

The following dispatch was printed from La Porte, Indiana: "Northern Indiana sends greetings to the Illinois readers of the *Tribune*. Since our overwhelming Republican victory everything is passing along smoothly and quietly with us except the usual morning excitement at places where the *Tribune* is distributed. We are Republicans here. We know our rights and dare to maintain them."

The paper's Washington letter of this date said:

"A bill is in preparation providing that whenever the Presi-

dent is convinced that he cannot succeed by executive laws in collecting revenue of seceding states, he may abolish all ports of entry in such states and blockade them to prevent trade. This plan is said to meet the concurrence of Mr. Lincoln and to be a prominent feature of his administration. If this bill passes power will be reposed in the hands of the government to strangle the disunion monster without shedding a drop of blood. Application of this policy for one year and withdrawal of mail service will end secession forever, without humiliating and demoralizing concessions. Men of the North, stand firm! Victory over disunion will soon be won and the Union saved."

John Evans petitioned on January 24 for a railroad to Evanston; the lake shore from Lake View to Evanston was a waste, the petition stated.

Washington correspondent Medill, on the same date, predicted that the border states would stay out of the secession movement and that the rebellion would be confined to the coastwise cotton states. "They have spent ten millions in war preparations and are desperate," he reported. . . . "It will soon fizzle out."

The *Tribune* on January 24 printed two and one-half columns on the military organizations of Chicago.

"Our Military. What of Chicago Soldiery? A Peep at Armories."

Details were given of organization and equipment of eight military companies, and the conclusion was reached that they could not turn out more than one hundred men fully equipped and had less than half that number of efficient muskets. They had four brass six-pound guns and a mountain howitzer.

"And this for a city of 100,000," said the *Tribune*. The same issue carried an account of the dedication of the Church of the Redeemer on West Washington Street.

The young men's meeting was reported on January 26 as having been enthusiastic, cheering for the "Stars and Stripes Forever."

The *Tribune* endorsed a suggestion for a clearinghouse bank in Chicago. Chicago business men, on an excursion to Philadelphia, were given a two-column story. The Democrats, meeting in Bryan Hall, suggested that Mr. Lincoln pass to the capital "quietly and without demonstration." Washington reported preparations for a grand inaugural ball.

"Union sentiment is gaining every day," wrote Medill. "Two years hence this secession thing will be dead. The government in four weeks time will be master of the situation. The rebels will wilt like Jonah's gourd when the glorious orb of day rose in the heavens and shone upon it."

The January 29 issue carried a first-page announcement of the 1861 "prospectus" of the *Tribune*, as follows:

The great political campaign of 1860 is closed. The battle has been fought and won and the eagles of victory perch on the Republican banner. Abraham Lincoln has been triumphantly elected President of the United States from March 4, 1861.

We are entering a year that will be memorable in the annals of American politics. The Fire Eaters of the Cotton States have undertaken to break up the American Union, because they are not allowed forever to rule it. The people have decided at the ballot box to have the federal government administered according to the precepts and policies of the Fathers, and in strict accord with the Constitution they have elected a President to execute their will. The slave holding oligarchy refuses to submit and has proclaimed its purpose to disrupt the confederacy unless its demands shall immediately be complied with.

The Demands of the Fire Eaters: 1 — That the people of the North shall give up their conviction that Slavery is wrong, and profess to believe it morally and politically right. 2 — That the Constitution shall be so construed as to recognize property in man and thereby nationalize the institution of slavery. 3 — That the free states shall pay for all fugitives from labor who may escape. 4 — That all state laws against kidnapping shall be repealed. 5 — That slavery is extended to all territories and protected by the federal government. 6 — That the slave traffic be reopened in the District of Columbia. 7 — That laws shall be passed granting the right

of slaveholders to travel and sojourn in free states accompanied by their slaves.

In case of non-compliance with these terms the Fire Eaters threaten to secede from the Union and set up a southern confederacy, reopen the African slave trade and attempt to found a great slave holding empire by absorbing Mexico, Central America and the islands of the Gulf. Such is the program of the disunionists.

In this cause it behooves every sound patriot and friend of the Union and Constitution to stand by Lincoln's administration as the old Democrats stood by General Jackson when assailed by the South Carolina nullifiers. The free North must not be bullied or frightened by the arrogant oligarchy unto a base surrender of its dearest rights and most cherished principles.

The *Tribune* is ever an earnest champion on the side of Freedom, Right and Patriotism.

The article then told of the paper's plans for general news coverage for the year, saying that one of the editors would go to Washington, another to Springfield, and that regular correspondents would be employed at the capitals of Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Indiana. Careful attention would be given to the departments of markets and agriculture, also to education. The people were invited to renew subscriptions at $7 a year for the daily paper, $1.50 a year for the weekly.

Chapter Six

LAST DAYS IN SPRINGFIELD

LINCOLN is represented by his biographers as believing, in the first weeks of 1861, that there would be no war, that the South would not push things that far. Yet, while a man of peace, he

was ready to die and have his fellow citizens of the North die in war rather than submit to concessions and compromises which would be destructive of the government and the Union itself. It was this iron streak in him that was revealed to the *Tribune* editors just before he left Springfield for Washington. It was characterized as " a verbatim report " of a statement by the President-elect, which was given to readers of the paper, and which was later borne out by events.

Lincoln's visit to his aged stepmother in Coles County was described in the *Tribune* on February 1. Lincoln rode eight miles through the countryside where he had split the famous fence rails. Farmers came to see him and he had his last contact with the people and the prairies which had contributed the pioneer outlook and strength to his youth.

In Washington, Cassius M. Clay, veteran Kentuckian, was urging Congress to make concessions, and Medill reported that many were yielding to the plea. The compromising Republicans, Northern Democrats, and Union men of the South might unite on some compromise measure, he said, adding that maybe they could be kept talking until March 4, and the danger be thus avoided.

The Pacific Railroad Bill and a bill to admit the Territory of Idaho were passed while the crisis was being debated in Washington. The *Tribune* on February 4 printed maps and a description of the defenses of Pensacola, Florida. Compromises were worthless, the paper declared. Lincoln, at home in Springfield, was reported as flatly opposed to compromise and as holding himself aloof from the struggle in Congress.

" The North does not fully realize the dangers of domination by the slave power," reported the Springfield correspondent, who apparently had editorial freedom somewhat like that exercised by Medill in his reports. There was a strong unity, however, from its correspondents, in these opinions and the paper presented a solid front in this critical time.

The Kentucky senate voted against secession. The *Tribune*

reprinted an advertisement from a Springfield, Texas, paper in which Charles H. Stilwell said he would catch Negroes and abolitionists. He would catch the latter free and use them for "food for his dogs."

A speech by Charles Francis Adams, son of John Quincy Adams and war-time Minister to England, was reported in the February 5 issue. Medill said:

"Though very able it was poisoned by a compromise proposition; but as no Adams was ever known to co-operate with any party without reservation, his action is not seriously regarded."

In Springfield, Lincoln was annoyed by office seekers. The Republicans, never before in power, had hordes of hungry hunters for place. Horace Greeley, lecturing in Springfield, was informed of his defeat for the Senate. The Virginia panhandle, according to a Wheeling dispatch, would stand by the Stars and Stripes. That area later became the state of West Virginia.

A Washington dispatch of February 6 was signed with the initials "C.H.R.," indicating that Dr. Ray had gone there. Medill did not like Washington, calling it "purely an artificial affair at best, sustained by public plunder."

Dr. Ray reported that the capital was still apprehensive of attack by the insurgents of Maryland and Virginia.

The *Tribune* said on February 6 that its circulation was more than that of the combined circulation of its four competitors in Chicago — the *Times*, the *Democrat*, the *Post*, and the *Journal*.

Horace Greeley had a three-hour talk with Lincoln at the St. Nicholas Hotel in Springfield, it was reported in the *Tribune*. The New York editor, who had supported Bates in the Chicago convention but who had worked hard for Lincoln's election after the nomination, found that Lincoln had taken Senator Seward and Thurlow Weed for his New York advisers and confidants. Greeley had been a strong opponent of

Seward. It was announced that Lincoln would make a tour of the principal cities of the East on his way to the inauguration.

Robberies were reported as increasing in Chicago. Two men were fined $2 each for not cleaning the ice from their sidewalks.

The *Tribune* said that the leading spirits in the secession movement "are opposed to the Republican form of government. Our Revolutionary fathers made a mistake by not hanging all the Tories of that day. The race ought to be exterminated at once."

On February 7 the *Tribune* was being denounced for assuming to speak for Lincoln, and it replied:

"This is about the 50th time we have repudiated the slander, alike unjust to Mr. Lincoln and ourselves. We believe Mr. Lincoln is quite up to the business of speaking for himself when he wants to say anything, and we are daily endeavoring to show that we know how to clothe our own ideas in plain language without running to anybody for either idea or language."

A circulation war was evidently on at this time, for the paper said: "A few simpletons seem to have no better business than to run around town begging subscribers to the *Tribune* to stop the paper. It gives us pleasure to record the result of their labors. February 4–5–6: 772 new subscriptions; discontinued, 7. Majority in favor of the *Tribune* — 765.

"Go ahead, gentlemen. It is a fact that you buy the *Tribune* every morning or borrow it from a neighbor, for with all your spleen you can't afford to go without the news."

The timetable for Lincoln's Eastern tour was printed. The President-elect was to leave Springfield the following Monday (February 11) on a Great Western special train. The personnel of the party was announced but Mrs. Lincoln was not to go. The first stops were to be at Decatur, Illinois, and Lafayette, Indiana. Many precautions were to be taken, with

signal men at every mile and every curve and the movement of the train telegraphed from station to station.

On February 8 the *Tribune* said: "The Peace Congress in Washington faces a hopeless task. Seven states have gone beyond reach of compromise, a population of six millions, half slaves. They have taken the plunge and no human agency save the strong arm of power can reclaim them. The committee is attempting to patch up some form of compromise to hold the border states. The worst enemies of the Union are Northern men who proclaim that the general government shall not be allowed to coerce obedience to its laws and authority. The disunion passion is rapidly extending over the border states. The New Orleans custom house and mint have been robbed of one million dollars by the rebels. What will Buchanan do? Nothing. The execrable old villain should be taken on the 4th of March and hanged to the nearest lamppost, as a warning to traitors of the present day and an example to posterity. What will happen to the hoary old wretch? Nothing."

The secessionists were reported to be making overtures to the French government. There was news of a famine in Kansas and the *Tribune* aided in raising relief funds in Chicago. The paper looked back on Chicago's early history, printing an account of the voyage of the first steamboat to Chicago in 1832 which brought troops and equipment for the soldiers of the Blackhawk War. There were then five buildings in the village, three log-tenements, a lighthouse, and the Fort Dearborn Barracks. The river at the mouth was a small fordable creek.

Europe at this time, in February, 1861, was getting anxious about the cotton trade. Congressman Clement L. Vallandigham of Ohio, who became one of the greatest obstructionists of the war and of the Lincoln administration and an object of special hatred by the *Tribune*, proposed an amendment to the Constitution to divide the United States in four sections, North, West, Pacific, and South. The election of Senator Jefferson Davis as the "principal tycoon of the Southern Confederacy"

was reported on February 11. Water Street grocers and packers called an indignation meeting against the *Tribune* articles opposing compromise. More details of Lincoln's itinerary were printed in a dispatch from Springfield, and the closing scenes in the home town were described. Secretaries Nicolay and Hay, Judge David Davis of Bloomington, Oliver H. Browning, and Colonel Elmer E. Ellsworth of the Zouaves, a close friend of Lincoln, were among those in the official party.

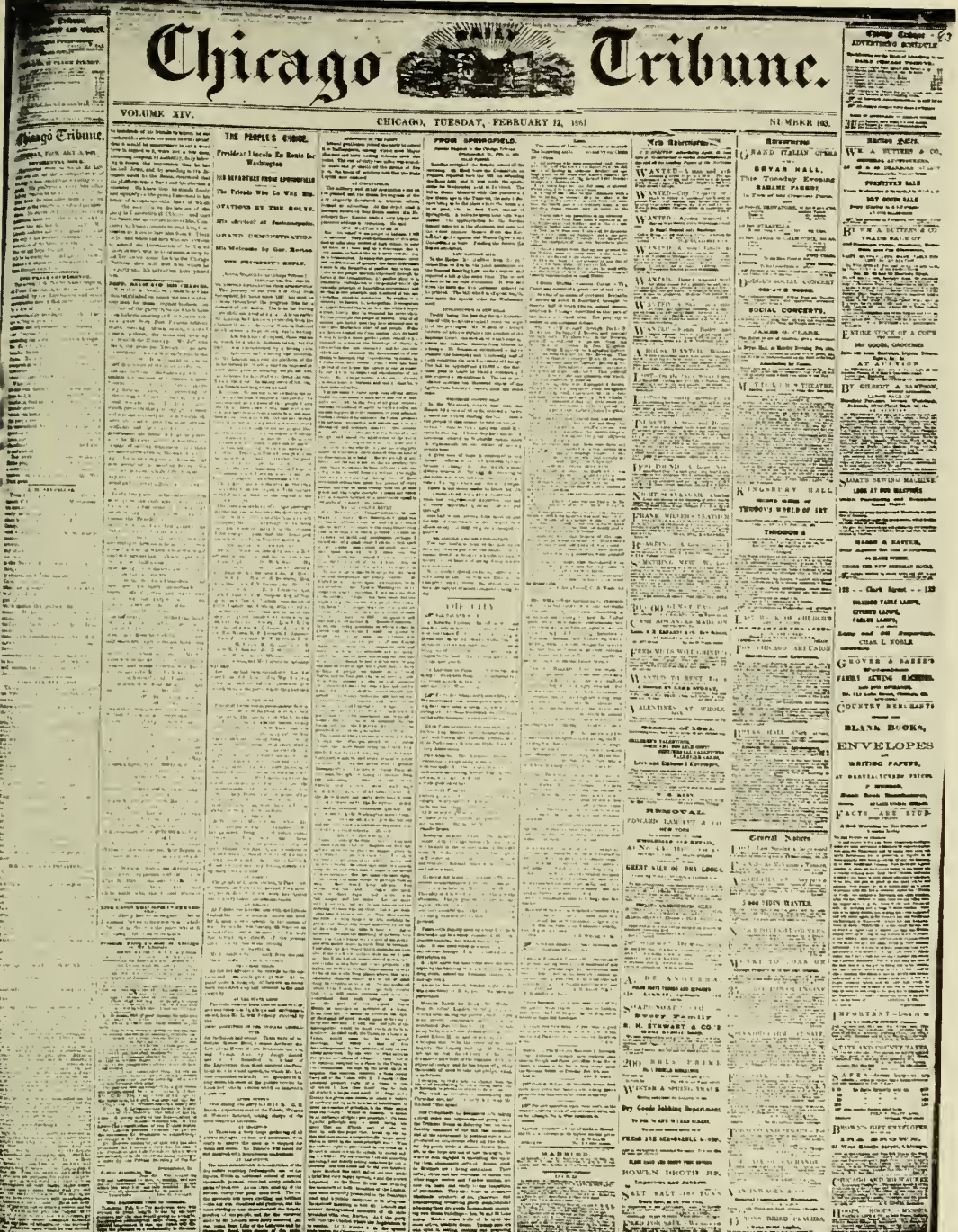
In the city news it was reported that Mary Mills was dead of intemperance at 28 Quincy Street. To intemperance, there was in her case added poverty and destitution. The paper said that the place where Mary boarded was " one of the filthiest, dirtiest abodes that humanity ever invented."

Lincoln, in recognition of his birthday, was presented with a Union flag by J. Young Scammon. It was inscribed with verses from Joshua:

" From the wilderness and this Lebanon even unto the great river, the river of Euphrates, all the land of the Hittites, and unto the great sea toward the going down of the sun, shall be your country. There shall not any man be able to stand before thee all the days of thy life. As I was with Moses, so I will be with thee: I will not fail thee, nor forsake thee."

Clarifying Lincoln's position, the *Tribune* on this day printed the " verbatim report of the declaration made about three weeks since by Mr. Lincoln to one of the editors of this paper," as follows:

" I will suffer death before I will consent, or advise my friends to consent, to any concession or compromise which looks like buying the privilege of taking possession of the government to which we have a Constitutional right; because, whatever I might think of the merit of various proposals before Congress, I should regard any concession in the face of menace as destructive of government itself, and as a consent on all hands that our system should be brought down to the level existing in the disorganized state of affairs in Mexico. But



Chicago Tribune.

VOLUME XIV. CHICAGO, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1861 NUMBER 103.

THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE.

President Lincoln En Route for Washington

HIS DEPARTURE FROM SPRINGFIELD

The Friends Who Go With Him.

STATIONS BY THE ROUTE.

His Arrival at Indianapolis.

GRAND DEMONSTRATION

His Welcome by Gov. Morton

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

FROM SPRINGFIELD.

THE CITY

Special Notices

Grand Opera

Social Concerts

Entire Stock of a Country Store

Blank Books, Envelopes and Writing Papers

Fancy Articles

Country Merchants

Grover & Baker's Family Sewing Machine

Boots and Shoes

Dry Goods Jobbing Department

Important—Insurance

Brown's Gift Envelope

Dr. Brown

this thing will hereafter be, as it now is, in the hands of the people; and if they desire to call a convention to remove any grievance complained of or to give guarantees of permanence of vested rights, it is not mine to oppose."

Chapter Seven

THE INAUGURATION

THE *Tribune* Company was incorporated in Springfield on February 18, 1861, just after Lincoln had made his famous farewell address there. The paper's owners were listed as John L. Scripps, William Bross, Charles H. Ray, Joseph Medill, Alfred Cowles, and William H. Rand, who later became head of Rand McNally & Company. Rand was at that time head of the mechanical department of the paper. The original capitalization was for 200 shares of stock, with a par value of $1,000 a share. The $200,000 capitalization has never been increased, though at a later date par value was reduced to $100 a share and the number of shares increased to 2,000.

Scripps was president of the company; Bross, vice-president; Cowles, secretary and treasurer; Medill, editorial superintendent.

Lincoln's departure from his Springfield home was reported on February 12 in a two-column, page-1 story. His famous farewell address was also reported.

"As Mr. Lincoln mounted the rear platform of the car at Springfield," the correspondent wrote, "he turned and bade adieu amid an imposed silence, many persons seeming deeply affected, and he himself scarcely able to check the emotions of the hour."

At Decatur an immense throng met the train. The correspondent on the train wrote:

" Long lines of saddle horses fastened about the station told that farmers rode far over the prairies to bid goodbye to Honest Old Abe."

A joint committee of the Indiana Legislature met the train at the state line. Thirty-four guns of honor were fired at Lafayette. At Indianapolis, Lincoln said in reply to the welcome of Governor Oliver P. Morton:

" I am but an accidental instrument, temporary and to serve but a limited time, and I appeal to you again to constantly bear in mind that with you and not with politicians, not with the President, not with office seekers, but with you is the question — shall the Union and shall the liberties of the country be preserved to the latest generation? "

Lincoln's last act in Springfield, the *Tribune* reported, had been to hand an intimate friend " a handsome sum of money for his [Lincoln's] aged stepmother in Coles County."

The *Tribune* extended itself in reporting this trip. " Our copious and we may say costly dispatches," the paper said, " give accounts of the enthusiasm in Indiana and Ohio in Lincoln's progress. The people hail in him a deliverer from anarchy and endless confusion with which the country is threatened."

An imposing demonstration was given Lincoln at Lawrenceburg on the Ohio River. Many from the hillsides of his old Kentucky home were there. Lincoln was received with a " storm of cheers."

" I suppose you are all Union men? " said Lincoln. A thundering " Aye " rent the air.

At Columbus, the *Tribune* said on February 14, Lincoln spoke of his silence on the policies of his administration.

" I have not maintained silence from any want of reality," the reporter quoted him. " It is a good thing that there is no more than anxiety, for there is nothing going wrong. It is a

consoling circumstance that when we look out there is nothing that really hurts anybody. We entertain different views on political questions, but nobody is suffering anything. This is a most consoling circumstance and from it we may conclude that all we want is time and patience and a reliance in that God who has never forsaken His people."

It was an odd, unprepared speech, and reflected the mystical in Lincoln.

Back in Chicago, the report of an antagonistic Bryan Hall meeting, "called to make a firm expression of the true sentiments of the Republicans of Chicago on the articles of the *Tribune*," was said by that paper to be endorsed by not one-tenth of the Republicans in the city. R. M. Hough, the chairman of the meeting, denounced the *Tribune* in good round terms. There was turmoil, a struggle for the chair, the gas was turned off, and the meeting was adjourned in confusion.

"The whole disturbance," said the *Tribune*, "was an attempt to pass a set of pro-slavery resolutions and father them on the Republicans of Chicago."

It was plain, however, that the *Tribune*, with its uncompromising policy, was in for a turbulent period and the paper did not back down. On February 15 it reported "the old gentlemen of the Union-saving convention were deep in the mysteries of concession and compromise."

Reaction in Louisville to Lincoln's speeches foreshadowed war. On February 16 the *Tribune* printed two columns on his Pittsburgh and Cleveland appearances. He was reported as being cheerful and in good health. The presidential votes were being counted in Washington. Twelve hundred soldiers were on hand, so stationed, said the *Tribune*, "that they can be hurled at the foe like a thunderbolt."

In further expression of its policies on that same day the *Tribune* said:

"Truth is not chameleon. . . . Principle antedates policy.

. . . Duty outweighs interest — love of liberty is stronger than love of self. These are the maxims on which this newspaper is conducted. If Republicans do not like its course let them drop it."

Lincoln's Eastward progress remained big news. At Buffalo, near the American Hotel, a man who had lost a bet on the election was sawing wood for the poorest Negro in town.

" Honest Old Abe will not be a wooden President," said the *Tribune*. " He is not a man of jelly to be moulded at will by the first man who seizes upon him. He promises to be a General Jackson. Squirt guns are suddenly at a discount."

On February 19 the *Tribune* endorsed the proposal for a steamboat channel from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi. A Washington letter to the *Cincinnati Commercial*, reprinted in the *Tribune*, told of an attack on Joseph Medill in Washington by William B. Kellogg, a member of Congress from Illinois. Kellogg had introduced a compromise measure providing for an amendment to the Constitution, and Medill had attacked it. According to the report of the Cincinnati correspondent, Kellogg demanded an explanation from Medill and Medill refused to discuss the matter, whereupon he was struck severely and knocked down, bystanders separating the two men as Kellogg sought to beat Medill. Medill was not seriously injured.

On February 20 the *Tribune* carried an editorial on this attack, calling Kellogg a bully and adding: " If Kellogg thinks it valor to attack in midnight assault an invalid [Medill had spinal rheumatism] we only say we think he mistakes the temper of his constituents."

In Kellogg's next campaign, the *Tribune* did not forget, but opposed him vigorously.

On February 21 it was announced that Lincoln was expected in Washington on Saturday. On February 25, Monday, the paper said that Lincoln had reached Washington safely on Saturday morning, that it was altogether wise for him to have made the transit through Maryland incognito and at an un-

expected hour. Thousands of his friends had apprehended danger in his passage through Baltimore. The revelation of a plot against his life had been made at Harrisburgh, and General Scott had advised this course. Allan Pinkerton, Chicago detective, it was reported on February 27, had been in Baltimore and had discovered the secessionist plot. While at Harrisburgh Lincoln had received a special message of warning from the son of Senator Seward. He was met at Washington by Seward.

"Thank God," said the *Tribune*, "the country has at last got an honest, brave and true man for President. The people will stand by him to the end of the chapter. Come what may, Old Abe is now here. All hail to the national regeneration."

At this time Jefferson Davis was sending commissioners to Washington to negotiate for independence.

"A delegation of Cave-inners called on Lincoln, who was revising his inaugural," the *Tribune* said. "He told them he was not their man, that the Union could not be saved by nationalizing slavery as they proposed."

The President-elect was at home on the second floor of Willard's Hotel. Mrs. Lincoln was receiving callers and diplomatic cards. Some Senators would not greet Lincoln. The *Tribune* predicted a call for an extra session. "There is no objection to calling a Constitutional Convention but the people will never consent to a change to establish and protect slavery."

The Washington letters of this month were signed "S," probably written by Scripps. The correspondent described a trip to Mount Vernon, which was falling in ruins and which he said should be restored.

A four-column report on a railway festival at the Briggs House was printed on March 4. Schuyler Colfax of Indiana was boosted for Postmaster General. Trinity Church on Jackson Boulevard between Wabash and Michigan Streets was reported as rapidly approaching completion.

The *Tribune* hailed Inauguration Day: "Thank God this is

the day of deliverance. It is Israel looking on the Promised Land, the Pilgrims on the Mayflower straining their eyes to the distant shore. . . . The struggle has been long and fearful; but this day repays all. Justice, Humanity and the consequent Freedom are in the ascendant."

The report of the inauguration published on March 5 was a descriptive narrative and three columns were given to Lincoln's address. There was no effort to summarize news in sharply-pointed leads as is the practice in today's newspapers. The story began, not with the fact of the inauguration, but with the statement: "The day was ushered in by a most exciting session of the Senate, the body sitting 12 hours, from 7 o'clock last evening until 7 this morning."

The inauguration was described as a gay and peaceful scene. Senator Stephen A. Douglas, Lincoln's life-long rival, now performed the graceful act of holding Lincoln's hat during the ceremony.

"We are quite sure," said the *Tribune* of the inaugural address, "that no document can be found among American state papers embodying greater wisdom or higher patriotism, breathing kindlier feelings to all sections of the country, or stamped with a firmer purpose to maintain the Union and the Constitution inviolate."

Chapter Eight

MEDILL BACK IN CHICAGO

Medill returned home from Washington soon after the inauguration in order to supervise the installation of a new cylinder press. His valedictory letter on this occasion reveals his

views of the national capital and its inhabitants, and his impressions of office seekers. He was not happy in the Washington atmosphere and he wrote feelingly on the subject. An interesting conversation between Lincoln and Medill on the "House Divided" speech at this time is recorded by Carl Sandburg. The *Tribune's* war with the *Chicago Times* flared up early in March.

About this time the *Tribune* also renewed its attack on the Supreme Court, declaring that "august tribunal" was a bench filled with Southern lawyers and "the last entrenchment behind which despotism is sheltered."

"Until a national convention amends the Constitution so as to defeat the usurpations of that body or until the court itself is reconstructed by the dropping off of a few of its members and the appointment of better men in their places we have little to hope for by Congressional action in the way of restricting slavery."

The President had gratified the *Tribune* editors by the appointment of Salmon P. Chase of Ohio as Secretary of the Treasury, but the paper's other Cabinet suggestions were not heeded and the appointment of Cameron to the War Department, against which Medill and Ray had specifically objected, was announced on March 6. Gideon Welles of Connecticut was appointed to the Navy, Caleb B. Smith of Indiana to the Interior Department, Montgomery Blair of Maryland as Postmaster General and Edward Bates of Missouri, Attorney General.

"We believe," said the *Tribune,* "that Lincoln has sought to make the Cabinet harmonious on all vital questions, and yet has sought to satisfy the largest number of those who gave him votes. In this he has done the right thing. The selection of Chase is eminently satisfactory. Let bygones be bygones and every honest and loyal citizen yield support to the administration in its patriotic effort to save the government from the perils threatening its destruction."

The implication here was that if a citizen did not support the Lincoln administration he was not honest or loyal or patriotic, an attitude which the *Tribune* continued to take and to express with increasing severity as the opposition became dangerous to the success of the war cause.

The *Chicago Times* said of the inaugural message that if it was carried out in good faith it meant civil war within thirty days. The *Tribune* found this view " intensely infernal, egging traitors on to fresh treason."

In Montgomery, Alabama, the first capital of the Confederacy, the message was regarded as a virtual declaration of war against the seceded states; thus the *Times* was correct at least in reflecting the Southern view.

On March 7 the *Tribune* in an extensive article told of the glories of the West, and its many inducements to immigration. They would welcome immigrants from the South and be glad to see a million or more in Illinois during the next ten years. Only one-fifth of the state was under cultivation and the price of farm lands was low.

An extra edition was printed on March 9 giving the annual railway statistics and a general business review. Despite its editorial absorption with political questions the paper was thorough and effective in these fields.

The *Tribune* said on March 11 that the *Times* was as fully imbued with treason as was Catiline or Benedict Arnold. It found the Charleston *Mercury*, the Rhett secession organ, more respectable.

The question of what to do about the evacuation or defense of Fort Sumter was uppermost during the first part of the Lincoln administration. The President moved seemingly as slowly as Buchanan had moved, waiting until he felt sure of what was right politically, for this was far more than a military question. The attitude of the hesitating border states was on Lincoln's mind. On March 12 it was reported that Major Anderson had provisions for fifteen days only. General Scott

advised evacuation. The *Tribune* hoped that Sumter would be provisioned and relief sent to Anderson. On March 13 it said:

"It may be necessary to abandon Sumter as a military necessity. If vindication of our national dignity be not so speedy as we had hoped, we can still afford to wait in full confidence of the ultimate triumph of right." This was a faith that the *Tribune* editors never lost.

The Chicago Academy of Science meeting was reported on March 13, where a talk on gold mining was given by William Bross. The San Francisco correspondent of the *Tribune* wrote: "While you unfortunate dwellers on Atlantic slopes are distracted by the clamor of disunion and your commercial and monetary affairs are complicated by Southern banks and repudiation, we on the Pacific side of the land are pursuing the even tenor of our way."

"Spring is coming," wrote one of the *Tribune* editors on March 15. "The trees have caught a hint of it and are quietly busy with their buds. In little sunny nooks paths of turf wax fresher and greener every day. Yellow daffodils in the gardens are getting impatient in their imprisoned folds and the first kiss of the sunshine will bring them out. The other day we heard a frog. Nature goes right on year after year, not in the least mindful of the fortunes of the state or the plots of the statesmen. The buds burst in their season whether human governments burst or not. Thank Providence that this is all kept out of the hands of the voters."

Medill, who was leaving Washington at this time for the home office, sent in a revealing letter.

"Some people love to live in Washington," he wrote. "They become infatuated with it and are never happy away from it. Your correspondent is not one of that class. To him it was always an irksome place of abode. The novelty wore off in two weeks and thereafter he remained from motives of duty, not from choice."

Medill mentioned that a new four-cylinder press was soon

to be shipped from New York to the *Tribune* and that its installation would need his personal attention. He had other reasons for leaving, however.

"I suddenly discovered," he wrote, "that I had too many friends who besought my influence in getting office. They rushed on me like a mountain torrent in springtime. I knew you in Ohio, they said, when you edited the *Leader*. I have read the *Tribune* for years and have enjoyed your articles, etc. I mildly suggest that nothing I could do would be of any service. They generally reply: 'Oh, you are mistaken. Everybody knows it was your paper that first brought out Old Abe for President and did more to give him notoriety and make him a national reputation than any other agency.' He must feel under great obligation to the *Tribune* folks, they said, for what they have done for him, and doubtless would do anything in reason that you suggest."

Medill wrote that he told these people to make application for jobs to the proper department. He helped some, "putting them up to the ropes." "You and the public," he told them, "may put one value on the service of the *Tribune* and the recipient quite another."

This may have been the expression of a little resentment at the slowness with which Lincoln had responded to the *Tribune's* earlier request for the Chicago postmastership.

"Lincoln and his secretaries," Mr. Medill continued, "are entitled to the sympathies of all humanitarian persons for the mental torture suffered from place hunters. The new administration has a greater and more difficult task to perform than ever met an American President. I have undiminished faith that Lincoln will realize the reasonable expectations of the people. The writer, 15 months ago, was the first man in Washington to raise his voice or pen for Old Abe for President. His editorial associates at home promptly seconded the nomination and the *Tribune* boldly threw its weight into the Lincoln scales."

Medill told of the flood of "original Lincoln men" who had come forward after the election. "Rather disgusting but not surprising," he added. "The writer has lowered the flag of Republicanism never an inch but has stood by his guns from the first day to the last."

Just before Medill left Washington he had the talk with Lincoln in which the "House Divided" speech was brought up. Carl Sandburg in his *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years* (Vol. 1, page 571) says:

"Joseph Medill too brought up the House Divided speech, put squarely to Lincoln the question, 'Why did you deliver that radical speech?' According to Medill, Lincoln exclaimed, 'Oh!' relapsed into reserve, and countered, 'What do you think was the reason?' Medill not answering, Lincoln went on: 'Well, after you fellows got me into that mess and began tempting me with offers of the Presidency, I began to think, and I made up my mind that the next President of the United States would need to have a stronger anti-slavery platform than mine. So I concluded to say something.' Then, as though he had put the matter too sheerly on a basis of practical politics, he asked Medill, and Medill promised, to repeat to no one his direct answer, which could have several interpretations."

Medill afterward held that Lincoln had here stated the issue on which he was elected President, that he had gone even deeper into the heart of the issue than Seward had ventured.

Chapter Nine

WAR BEGINS; "WE ARE READY"

WHAT was described in the *Tribune* as "the second American Revolution" began with the fall of Fort Sumter in April, 1861. The *Tribune* and its Republican followers "lamented, but were ready." They were ready in spirit if not in physical force. The long negotiations over Sumter had made the editors impatient, and they questioned whether Lincoln was really using the powers of government that were his. The beginning of the war brought out one of the most famous editorials of those years, "The Sword of the Lord and Gideon."

A city charter fight engaged local attention late in March. The *Tribune* took one side, "Long John" Wentworth the other, and the *Tribune* lost. The editors, however, were most interested in the war situation and gave daily advice to the government on the Sumter situation. "If we have a government," they said on March 21, "the fact should be demonstrated; if not, the fact should be acknowledged."

On March 22 dispatches were printed from the South and West, giving a wide view of national sentiment. A page-1 column on spring fashions was printed on March 26 and the *Tribune's* commercial report on Chicago's advantages was issued in pamphlet form, price fifteen cents. The history of the Mechanics Institute was given a two-column spread. There was a shakeup in the local police force, which had sixty patrolmen, six sergeants and three captains. The Wigwam was sold, with the proceeds going to orphans. A quarrel with the *Chi-*

cago Post was noticed in the *Tribune* of March 30. This was over the appointment of Scripps as postmaster, made early in Lincoln's term.

"There were no terms or conditions to the appointment," said the *Tribune*. "He would not sever his connection with the *Tribune* for the postoffice or any other office within the gift of the President. It will be news to the President, as to the citizens of Chicago, to learn that the *Tribune* rests under a heavy load of odium in this community. It will be some time yet before the President finds out that there is a powerful opposition among the people of Chicago to any person connected editorially with the *Tribune*. If the *Post* was afflicted with a little more of the kind of odium that rests on the *Tribune* its finances would be in more satisfactory shape."

Back in 1860 there had been a banking crisis in Illinois, with the notes of thirty-two banks thrown out of circulation. The *Tribune* held this situation up as a warning and continued its campaign for a sound banking system. The emancipation of the Russian serfs, then going on, was declared to be the great event of the age and a two-column story was given to this release of fifty million humans from their bondage.

On April 4 the paper's Washington correspondent said that the President and his Cabinet had adopted a bold and decisive policy in relation to the rebels. The new United States marshal in Chicago captured five fugitive slaves. The *Tribune* complained on April 9 of "Cabinet secrecy" and said that the Associated Press was a "rumor factory." There was much activity in the navy yards.

"At length daylight ahead," said the *Tribune* on April 10. "The country has a government. Government vessels have sailed for Charleston harbor with supplies for Anderson. He who is not for the administration is against it. He who is not willing to do service under the old flag is already a recruit under the rattlesnake banner. The echo of the first gun fired for the saving of the Union is the knell of action. The ball is

opened. Now for a quick contest and a speedy peace."

In an editorial of April 11 a Republican triumph in the local election, now at hand, was called a necessity. Washington was reported full of warlike din, with Pennsylvania Avenue looking like a military camp. The district militia had been expanded. About one-seventh had refused to take the oath of allegiance. Colonel Ward Lamon, Lincoln's old Illinois friend and bodyguard who had been his agent to Fort Sumter, was made a deputy marshal, with great power in Washington.

"The Republicans lament but are ready for war," said the *Tribune*.

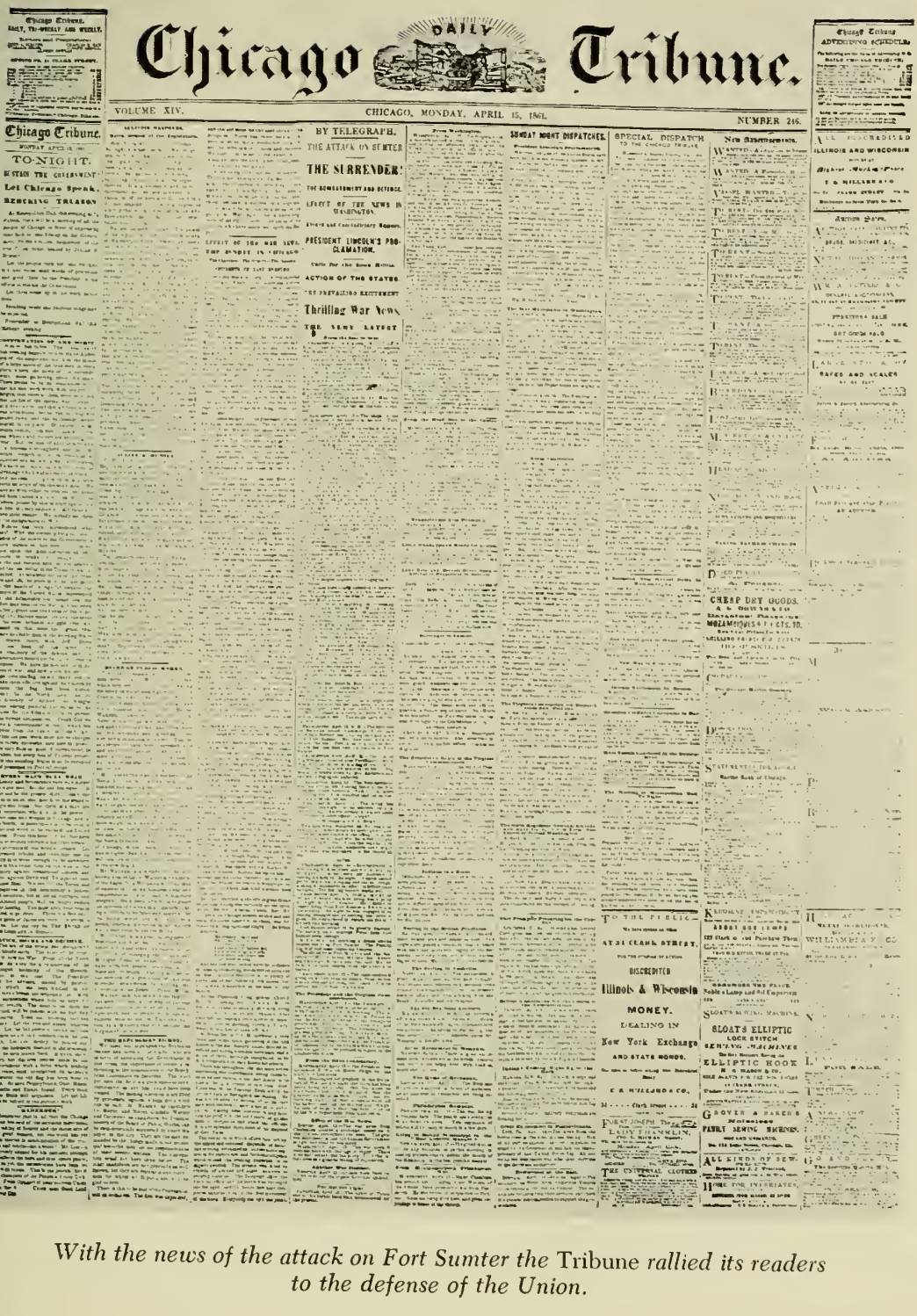
"War Inaugurated," was the caption of an editorial on page 1 of April 13.

"The bombardment of Sumter is going on. The issue is in doubt. Our fathers fought for seven long years that the Constitution might be framed. We, the descendants, can afford any sacrifice, any exertion, that their labor may be preserved to the world for the blessing of mankind. Now, men of the North, for the struggle!"

The Stars and Stripes appeared on the first page in a one-column cut, a feature which was to appear frequently during the war as important victories were announced. "Here is a flag like that which waves over beleagured Sumter and the head of the gallant and faithful Anderson and his little band," was the statement under the cut. "Let it be carried in triumph before this city. Will you assist in that good work, by its march through all the land?"

A rally to be held in Metropolitan Hall was announced "for all in favor of maintaining the government. We call on the Republican guard. Let them come up to the work before them, and see to it that no secessionist or secession sympathizer steals official position to be used for the comfort of those warring on the Republic."

The *Tribune* was disappointed in its news service of the day. "Just at the moment when the country needs the special



Chicago Tribune.

DAILY

VOLUME XIV. CHICAGO, MONDAY, APRIL 15, 1861. NUMBER 246.

TO-NIGHT.

BY TELEGRAPH.

THE ATTACK ON SUMTER

THE SURRENDER!

THE EXCITEMENT AND ENTHUSIASM

EFFECT OF THE NEWS IN WASHINGTON.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S PROCLAMATION.

ACTION OF THE STATES.

THE PREVAILING EXCITEMENT

Thrilling War News.

THE VERY LATEST

SUNDAY NIGHT DISPATCHES.

SPECIAL DISPATCH TO THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE.

New Advertisements.

TO THE PUBLIC—

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DISCREDITED

Illinois & Wisconsin

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CHEAP DRY GOODS.

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Exchanges Pleasure for

MOZAMBIQUES 6 CTS. TO

SLOAT'S ELLIPTIC

LOCK STITCH

SEWING MACHINES

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GROVER & BAKER'S

FAMILY SEWING MACHINES,

ALL KINDS OF SEW.

SAFES AND SCALES

WHEELER & CO.

dispatches for which we bargained on Tuesday last, they fail to come, probably suspended, as Jeff Davis ought to be, somewhere on the poles between here and Washington."

"Attack on Sumter — the Surrender," was announced on April 15. The story came in brief dispatches from Charleston via Augusta.

"Fight this stain on the government," said the *Tribune*, "by the election of Julian S. Rumsey, fighting Union man, as mayor next Tuesday."

That Sunday in Chicago was called "the first Sunday of the second American Revolution. It was a day long to be remembered. The city was given up to intense, all-pervading excitement the like of which had never been known in this community. The demand for morning papers was immense. Boys quit calling them and just opened their bundles. The Germans were gathered in their beer halls, brimful of patriotism." Church scenes were described, with congregations singing "My Country." On this day the *Tribune* ran the famous editorial previously referred to, under the heading, "War — Every Man's Duty — Read."

Lenity and forbearance have only nursed the viper into life — war has begun. It may not be the present duty of each one of us to enlist and march to the sound of bugle and drum, but there is a duty not less important which is in the power of every man and woman in Chicago and in the North to perform — it is to be loyal in heart and word to the Cause of the United States. From this hour let no Northern man or woman tolerate in his or her presence the utterance of one word of treason. Let expressed rebuke and contempt rest on every man weak enough to be anything else in this crisis than on the side of the Country against Treason — of Lincoln and Scott against Davis and Twiggs, of God against Baal. We say to the Tories and lickspittles in this community, a patient and reluctant, but at last an outraged and maddened people will no longer endure your hissing. You must keep your venom sealed or go down. The gates of Janus are open, the storm is on. Let the cry be "The Sword of the Lord and Gideon."

This writer, probably Dr. Ray, was familiar with the history of his country. This battle cry, "The Sword of the Lord and Gideon," had been raised during the Revolution by the Reverend Thomas Doak at Sycamore Shoals before the men of the Western waters marched to King's Mountain to meet Cornwallis' army. It was the vengeance of the Old Testament Jehovah that was being again invoked.

The loss of Sumter, said the *Tribune*, entails the obligation to retake it, "though to do so the last shot in the arsenals and the last dollar in the Treasury be expended."

Chapter Ten

CHICAGO'S WAR SPIRIT

Chicago seethed with war excitement during those April days of 1861. Illinois was called on for six regiments. The *Tribune* thought the state could raise the whole ninety-four regiments, then regarded as the nation's need. The editors could not foresee the length and desperate nature of the struggle that had begun, and the deep fury of the South; nor did they realize that the time would come, years later, when it would be difficult to raise more men in Chicago for the army.

A full account of the action at Sumter was printed on April 16. The *Tribune* warned against mobs and violence and asked the people in the city election to vote for Rumsey and the whole Republican ticket. The first Illinois quota of men was 4,683, marking the beginning of the time when every neighborhood and nearly every house in the city would feel the tragic effects of war.

"America," said the *Tribune*, "has entered a second time

into the struggle for national existence. The time for halfway measures has gone by. And now it behooves the government and the rebels to strike wherever they can strike most effectively. The seceding ports must be closed. The whole infamous rebellion must be quenched as speedily as guns can be cast, forces mustered and money raised. There is no other way."

The proclamation of Governor Yates of Illinois was printed. The legislature was called for April 23. Senator Douglas, it was announced, stood by the administration.

On April 17 the *Tribune* was happy to announce the election of Mayor Rumsey and the Republican ticket. The final majority for Rumsey was 1,673 in a total vote of 14,875. Resolutions were adopted at a Bryan Hall meeting declaring that the people of Chicago should know no party but that of patriots and unite earnestly and cordially in support of the government.

"The Great Crisis," was the main headline. There were three columns of assorted telegraphic dispatches. Charleston reported that England and France would recognize the Confederacy. Virginia was expected to secede.

Regular troops from Minnesota passed through Chicago on the way to Washington and ten thousand people thronged the Chicago and North Western Depot on Kinzie Street to see them. The Chicago military companies began brushing up. The German Turners became the Union Cadets. The Chicago Highlanders were drilling. Everyone realized that this was no holiday soldiery. Mothers were sad. The city was alive with meetings of volunteers and more than 1,500 were on the muster roll.

The *Tribune* said that the whole North was in motion, "A Niagara of men and money."

The *Tribune* editors were worried at this time over the situation in the southern part of Illinois and in Missouri. Medill in a letter to Senator Trumbull of April 16 said:

Great solicitude is felt here in relation to the public arms at St. Louis. Should not the government be advised by telegraph to transfer a portion of them to Springfield and capitals of other Western states? We have news from St. Louis that the secessionists may at any time seize the armory there. Submit this matter to the government and others.

Cairo is a point of vast importance in this crisis. Our best men think that a regiment of men and a park of artillery should be encamped there at the earliest moment. It commands both rivers and should Missouri prove disloyal it can be made to prevent her from passing a steamer up or down the river. And the same is true of Kentucky on the Ohio River. If well secured it would overcome the secessionists in Egypt. That there are many there time will show.

Can any provision be made by the state authorities in relation to the expenses of mustering in volunteers until after the legislature meets? It will be two weeks before it makes the necessary appropriation. Meanwhile the men ought to be enlisted.

Professor Tracey Elmer Strevey in his manuscript history of the *Tribune* and Joseph Medill during this period says:

The policy of the *Tribune* during the period of the war which began with the surrender of Fort Sumter was that of a radical and aggressive newspaper; radical in that it was ultra-Republican and continually urged upon the administration the most extreme Republican views. It was aggressive in its support but never hesitated to disagree when it thought the administration was wrong. It at all times advocated a thorough and active prosecution of the war and in that regard never wavered.

During the course of the war, correspondents were maintained all over the field and special telegraph facilities gave the *Tribune* good news service. A bulletin board was maintained for the citizens of the city and special dispatches posted as they arrived. The editors themselves and more especially Medill and Ray were often at the front to investigate conditions and report for the paper. Every issue that needed consultation received careful consideration from Medill, Ray, Scripps and Bross, aside from one or two others.

The *Tribune* entered the war with enthusiasm and an optimistic view of the future. The war was not regretted; rather was it welcomed as a cleansing force which would purge the nation of evil

and settle once and for all the sectional issues which had been sowing strife and national discord for a generation.

On April 19, 1861, at meetings at Bryan and Metropolitan Halls, it was reported that " money came down like rain, and people rushed forward to enroll in defense of the flag. Tar barrels illumined the horizon and the streets were alive till midnight with martial music."

Chicago banks tendered a $500,000 loan, the Springfield banks, $100,000.

Virginia was out, Maryland in doubt.

The city was illuminated and a " grand rally " was held at the Wigwam, renamed National Hall, on April 20. Volunteers were on the stage. Chicago citizens subscribed $36,000. Among the subscribers were two Democrats: Thomas Hoyne for $200; Thomas B. Bryan for $100. But in Baltimore mobs were tearing up the rails over which the troops would be transported to Washington.

The first departure of Chicago companies was reported on April 22. These were 700 men of light artillery, including the Lincoln Rifles. Among them were many Germans and Hungarians.

The *Tribune* said that nests of rank treason in southern Illinois needed looking after. Wires to Washington were cut and dispatches failed.

Another meeting in National Hall was called a " millennium of harmony," with men of all creeds and parties giving adherence to the government. Massed bands played and the entire audience rose to take the oath of allegiance which was read by Judge George Manierre. John Wentworth and Dr. N. S. Davis were there and the audience sang:

Arise! Arise! Arise!
And gird ye for the fight,
And let your watchword ever be,
May God protect the right.

A search for a compromise from the border states met with this response from the *Tribune:*

"Let the traitors make the offer and see what comes of it. All hope of conciliation and compromise must be abandoned. The battle must be fought out. Liberty or slavery must rule in this Republic. The summons to the battle is joyfully accepted. Now let the weakest go down."

Chapter Eleven

CALLS FOR INVASION

THE FIRST of a series of letters from Parson Brownlow of the *Knoxville Whig,* a strong Union voice in Tennessee, was printed in the *Tribune* late in April. A meeting was held at the Briggs House to organize a corps to aid the wounded, headed by the Reverend Robert Collyer.

On April 24 the *Tribune* called for an invasion of the rebel states. It also wanted treason in Pope County punished after reading an editorial in the *Golconda Herald* in which it was said that "The Black Republicans would have to pass over the dead bodies of the gallant sons of Egypt" before the South could be invaded—a challenge from southern Illinois to the North and to the *Tribune's* invasion call.

Senator Douglas was coming West after asking Lincoln what he could do and receiving the advice to go to Illinois and help organize for the war. The paper welcomed him to Chicago with its first kind words for him in many years.

"We do what we have not done in many years," said the *Tribune.* "We hail his coming with pleasure."

Reports on enlistments were given. In Proviso township, for instance, out of ninety voters there were seventy-five volunteers.

An Irish brigade was organized, but it was in need of rifles.

The Maryland insurrection was used by the *Tribune* to hurry the enlistment of volunteers. The government was advised to take all measures necessary for the safety of the President and the capital which was surrounded by traitors.

Senator Douglas was in Springfield. "Gentlemen," he told the members of the legislature, "it is our duty to defend our Constitution and protect our flag." "The whole house cheered him," said the *Tribune* on April 26.

The Governor of Kentucky proposed that the border states arbitrate the war question. The *Tribune* said that the call for troops should be raised to 300,000 active with 200,000 in reserve. The Illinois quota would be 28,000. It also proposed a national loan of $150,000,000 at 6 per cent. "No more temporizing. Deal a hard blow and have a century of peace."

The paper took a hopeful view of what war would do to the Northwest, declaring that it would not prostrate commerce or agriculture. The administration in ten days, it said, had wrought a work without parallel in the history of European campaigns.

"Let the people trust the government and General Scott. Our system of government a failure? No. A sublime spectacle is now exhibited by the states of the North, a challenge to all history. Let the croakers hold their peace while self-government records on the pages of history its last and most triumphant achievement."

Lake Michigan had been reported open to navigation on April 28. There were sixteen steamers and seventy sails in port. The *Tribune* said there were rumors of a conference of governors, "but the day for twaddling peace conversations has gone by."

The President's second call for volunteers was printed on

May 1, 1861. The war spirit kept up in Chicago, with crowds in front of the *Tribune* bulletin board. Senator Douglas was given an enthusiastic greeting as he spoke in Chicago urging support of the government. He appeared in National Hall. The *Tribune* printed his address in full and gave him a page-1 editorial pat on the back. Thirteen active military companies were now in the city, with twenty-five full companies in reserve. During the early part of this month there was an excess of volunteers, with a dearth of war news. Mayor Rumsey was inaugurated on May 5, promising to keep the city credit sound and to support the Constitution and government in all ways. The legislature was blamed by the *Tribune* for not accepting soldiers, and army politics began to show its face. The army of occupation at Washington was expected, the *Tribune* said, to push forward on Arlington or Alexandria, Virginia.

A Chicago regiment was organized on May 8.

"Let us advance," said the *Tribune*. "Ten thousand men will soon be at Cairo. The people burn with impatience to meet the enemies of the Republic and open a way down their river to the sea."

Tennessee was reported out of the Union on May 9.

"Where can we look," the *Tribune* asked, "for military genius which deals with victorious armies of 150,000 men?"

The Washington correspondent, "J. W. R.," on May 11 described Lincoln coming out of the White House to see the troops march by.

"How are ye, uncle?" one of the soldiers called. Lincoln bowed and smiled.

"I don't think the Union can be dissolved," called another man.

"Gentlemen, the Union shan't be dissolved," said Lincoln.

"Eleven Chicago companies in camp must be uniformed by private subscription," said the *Tribune* on May 13. War was reported in St. Louis. The *Tribune* printed a second edition.

"If we subdue the rebels what shall we do with them

then? " asked the *Tribune* in one of its brief, newsy, first-page editorials that formed a daily feature during these years. " If the shackles of slavery were sunk in the Gulf of Mexico, the answer would be easy — a peaceable, loyal, prosperous people in a few years."

Two columns were printed on May 14 of special Cairo correspondence, signed " W," probably Horace White.

Actual war opened in May, 1861, and the *Tribune* welcomed General George B. McClellan to his new command of the Department of the Northwest. The paper was content to prepare and wait with McClellan, and at the same time was impatient for an advance on Cairo. The *Tribune* editors began looking for a military genius to guide the army that began to come into being with the President's second call for troops. " He will commit no mistakes," the paper said of McClellan. " We congratulate the Northwest that the conduct of her armies is confided to such a man."

A new German regiment was raised in Chicago, with recruiting offices in various saloons.

" There are 20 million friends of the Republic to overcome 5 million of the foe," said the *Tribune* on May 16. But the paper counseled caution and preparation. " Valiant newspaper warriors propose to push 50,000 raw volunteers into the field and decide the fate of the capitol by a single battle. Think better of it. We are content to be guided by his [McClellan's] wisdom."

Five special pages of delinquent-tax lists were printed on May 19, and on May 21 it was announced that " a new fast press enables us to fill all orders."

There now arose the question whether England would recognize the Jefferson Davis government. " If this means recognition, and cotton is the compelling motive," the *Tribune* commented, " the entire crop will be destroyed. The North has means to sweep cotton and slavery out of the way."

A special report was printed from Camp Scott at Freeport.

There were specials from Cairo and St. Louis. The *Tribune* was extending itself.

" War Opens," was the chief story on May 25. " Invasion of Virginia; 10,000 Soldiers in Alexandria." The death of Colonel Ellsworth, Chicago Zouave leader and friend of Lincoln, was reported. Senator Douglas was reported critically ill at his Chicago home.

The *Tribune* gave this notice: " We have issued two editions of Monday's *Tribune* . . . delivering the first one, containing Saturday night's dispatches, on Sunday morning to city subscribers. . . . The second edition, containing Sunday night's dispatches, has not been supplied to our city subscribers. . . . A Sunday morning edition will be printed during the continuance of the war. . . . It will contain all the news which can be obtained up to midnight, Saturday. . . ."

This Sunday edition, designed as an extra war-time service, did not end publication with the cessation of the war. Instead, it eventually grew into the highly specialized *Chicago Sunday Tribune* with its many pages and numerous features.

A dispatch from Horace White at Cairo closed:

" I beg leave to tender to the gentlemen at Cairo my cordial wishes for their continued health and comfort, thanks for courtesy and hospitality and an earnest assurance that they cover themselves with glory in the day of trial. May the God of battles guide, protect and defend them."

In " Our Washington Letter," J. W. R. warned his editors against " overdoing the headlines." He was amused, he wrote, " at the attempts of some of you *Tribune* folks, your printers, I guess, to give my letters sensational headings." The last paragraph contained his news of the Virginia excitement.

" Not so fast," was the advice in a *Tribune* editorial of May 28. The enemy was not to be underrated, it was stated, and " the war is not to be ended by a single campaign."

Army commanders, the *Tribune* said, should be in no hurry to send back slaves who were captured while trying to escape,

as they were merely used to work for the rebel army. This was a suggestion of the policy toward slaves which the army afterward carried out.

There was an editorial on the Cavaliers and the Psalm-singing Yankees, evidently in answer to Southern comment. "The Yankee regiments, armed with Sharpe's rifles and rifled cannon, are amply provided with Bibles and hymn books."

The *Tribune* press room was open to public inspection on May 29. The public was asked to watch the new press run off the weekly edition.

The following resolution from the Congregational ministers and churches of Illinois was reported on May 29:

"That American slavery is responsible before God and man for the present deplorable condition of the country. This rebellion is not only treason against the United States government, but a revolt against the Divine scheme for the world's advance in civilization and religion, a high crime against universal humanity and impious defiance of Divine Providence."

On May 30 the first of a series of articles on military science was printed. It was an essay on tactics, "prepared expressly for the *Tribune* by a gentleman of thorough military education," and it was commended to the 30,000 readers.

Of the border states convention at Frankfort, Kentucky, the *Tribune* said: "The Old Ladies again – Union men with an if."

The death of Senator Douglas was reported on June 4. Two laudatory editorials appeared in the *Tribune* one of which read:

"It is well known that the *Chicago Tribune* had no sympathy with the political movements of the late Senator since 1853. He was content to go his way and we ours. He had one line of policy and we another. In all these years of difference we have shared with others the animosity that our prejudice and his acts provided. We draw the veil over that distracted period and leave the historian to decide whether he and his

friends, or his opposers, ourselves among them, were right. We have nothing to apologize for — and he would have nothing to unsay had he lived. We take his last work, his last speech as a standard of measurement. We remember him by that and lay down, therefore, this tribute of gratitude and praise."

There was a three-column story on the Senator's death.

The *Tribune* suggested that South Carolina be cleared of traitors. "Make it a federal colony for black labor. This is a policy which we do not seriously recommend at this time, but if the war lasts it will tend toward this — clear the land of rebels and sow it with blacks. If then at the end of the war Charleston is a black port and the state an African colony, let no one be surprised."

It was reported on June 6, 1861, that General Scott expected to put down the rebellion in eleven months. The Western army was expected to be in Memphis by July 4, in Richmond during July, and by February 2 the Grand Army of the Republic would be, it was thought, celebrating in New Orleans.

The *Tribune* suggested that a Douglas Democrat be appointed to succeed the late Senator. In reply to criticism of erroneous reports it stated: "Our reporters and correspondents, and they are many, have frequent warnings to be particular in their facts and sparing of speculation and on no account to confound the two."

Douglas' last speech calling for defense of the flag was reprinted while his body lay in state at Bryan Hall. Three columns told of the funeral in the July 8 issue. "Let the dead past bury its dead. He whom we have placed in a sepulchre will live long in his country's history and the words he spoke almost in his dying moments will be engraven upon the hearts of millions."

Chapter Twelve

THE *TRIBUNE* GETS A SHOCK

A RUDE shock to the North, and particularly to the *Tribune*, came in July of 1861 with the Battle of Bull Run. The *Tribune* had been insisting on an "advance to Richmond," and when the advance was attempted and met with failure the paper became the object of ridicule by its enemies and the opposition press.

Slavery would be wiped out as a result of the war, the *Tribune* predicted on June 15. Lincoln issued his message on July 6, calling 400,000 soldiers.

The *Tribune* continued to look over the field for a military genius so sadly needed, and noted on June 15 the appointment of Captain Ulysses S. Grant, "late of the U. S. Army," to be a colonel at Camp Yates.

"J. W. R." reported from Washington on July 8 that he was glad to see the *Tribune* quoted there almost every day as an authority on the West.

A letter was reprinted from the London *Times* in which John Lothrop Motley, American historian, best known for his *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, explained the rebellion and saw a reconstructed Union in time.

Two columns on farm and garden notes appeared in the *Tribune* on June 13. Orville H. Browning, Republican, was made Senator to succeed Douglas. The Chicago Academy of Science meeting was reported in full. The *Tribune* complained on June 14 that it had paid telegraph tolls for the

proclamation of Governor Jackson of Missouri and then received the same news by Associated Press. " This is too much of a good thing."

The estimated cost of the war was $125,000,000 a year which, by the way, may be compared with estimates of the 1942 cost to this country for the Second World War, about that amount per day.

General McClellan was reported in Cairo on June 15. The *Tribune* said: " We of the free states are going to show the world that rebellion against a Republican government, to be successful, will cost the prosperity of a whole generation. The price to be paid will consume a million lives and leave a desolate, blackened country. Slavery will be wiped out."

A Springfield special dispatch of June 15 said that " the Governor today by special order appointed Captain U. S. Grant, late of the U. S. Army, a colonel of the 7th Congressional district regiment, now at Camp Yates, vice S. S. Goode, deposed. General McClellan spent some hours here today."

In the June 20 issue praise was given to General Nathaniel Lyon on his Missouri campaign. It was noted that Senator Andrew Johnson of Tennessee received unusual attention in Kentucky on his way to Cincinnati.

Commencement Day at Northwestern University, Evanston, was reported on June 21. The reporter made a special trip there and described Evanston as " a pleasant village, where each house sits undisturbed in its own park, and where the deep sounding waves of the restless lake ever wash the shore, suggesting ever in its melancholy undertone the hereafter and the invisible."

General Scott was reported to have told Lincoln on June 23 that he was ready to advance with his army of 65,000 in Washington.

" Give the soldiers something to do," said the *Tribune*. On June 28 a wide difference of opinion in the Cabinet on the management of the campaign was reported. There was talk of

General Scott's provoking slowness. On June 29 the *Tribune* carried at its editorial masthead:

"The Nation's War Cry – Forward to Richmond. The rebel Congress must not be allowed to meet there on July 20. By that time the place must be held by the national army."

"Advance! Advance! General Scott is a great military strategist but a child in politics. Advance to the relief of the Union men of the South before it is too late."

This cry was repeated on June 30, with the comment: "No advance! Latterly none had been expected so nobody is disappointed."

West Virginia was organized as a Union state, according to a July 2 dispatch. There was a two-column story in the *Tribune* on "Our Lower Life," describing dance halls and a prize fight. The military department of Illinois was organized under Brigadier General John Pope. Fifty children at the Home for the Friendless were given a cow. The Irish Brigade was at Camp Frémont in Cottage Grove on the south side of Chicago.

An extra edition was issued on July 4 on the President's message and the assembly of Congress. The overland mail from St. Joseph, Missouri, to San Francisco was made in a twenty-day trip. Chicago University commencement was held in Bryan Hall.

The President's message was printed in four columns on July 6. The *Tribune* said:

"This message is the most important document since the adoption of the Constitution. It proposes a call for 400,000 soldiers, the use of 400 millions to make the war short and decisive. The President is firm and unflinching. It is precisely what we, in common with all who know the incorruptible integrity of Lincoln, had expected from the beginning. Lincoln asks the question – must a government of necessity be too strong for the liberties of the people or too weak to maintain its own existence? This is certainly a grave question. The response of the people in the negative is overwhelming. They sincerely be-

lieve that a Republican form of government is strong enough to maintain its existence, and need not be so strong as to encroach on the liberties of the people, and they are demonstrating it in this contest. A stiff breeze blows from the Northwest. Can any one longer doubt that the power does not exist in the world to swerve Abraham Lincoln from the duties which he has elected to perform and which he promised to execute? "

A special story was carried on the commencement exercises at Lombard College at Galesburg, " a place of quiet academic shades, where the very houses seem to be asleep — a place to forget the war."

Lincoln's saying, " The material of the work [of putting down the rebellion] is abundant; it only needs the hand of legislation, and the hand of the Executive to give it practical shape and efficiency," was printed at the head of the editorial column on July 8.

A strike of laborers discharging grain in port was recorded. They were getting 75 cents a day and wanted more.

" Just when we expected the most news we get the least," said the *Tribune* on July 10, complaining of the strict military censorship.

" Forward to Richmond — by July 20," was the slogan for July 11, with an attack on the Tories, Clement Vallandigham of Ohio, and Fernando Wood of New York. Two columns were printed covering an excursion of a Chicago business group to Cincinnati, Chicago's great rival in the pork trade.

" The Grand Advance starts," said the *Tribune* on July 18. " Gen. Irvin McDowell is at Fairfax Court House. We are rejoiced. No other event in American history gives us half so much satisfaction. We will break up Jeff Davis' congress very soon, if not by the 20th. Let the rebels pay the cost of the war. As slavery is the cause and the slave holders the chief actors and fomenters of rebellion, a tax on slaves should be levied to reimburse the government." An annual tax of $15 a head was suggested.

July 19 — " The army is in Virginia; a battle in progress."

July 20 — " Battle of Bull Run rumored in scattering news items."

July 21 — " A great battle is to be fought at Bull Run, more or less decisive of the war."

July 22 — " Great Victory at Bull Run."

July 23 — " The Disaster — First Victory, then Defeat."

" The consequences," the *Tribune* commented, " will be only a mighty uprising of the people on behalf of their beloved Union and Constitution, a firmer resolution to conquer the traitors and new and gigantic preparations. Mortification is mingled with sorrow for the dead, but despair never. Let vast camps of instruction be organized forthwith. Let educated and competent officers be appointed instead of ambitious politicians."

The appointment of General McClellan to take charge of the Army of the Potomac was hailed with gratification. It was also noted:

" Our orders from newsmen last evening ran our issue up to an unprecedented number — 36,000, the largest daily edition ever printed in the Northwest." Attention was directed to a " full and graphic description " of the fighting at Bull Run by Dr. Ray, who witnessed it.

There were two columns of editorial storm against General Robert Patterson who had failed to hold the rebels under General Joe Johnston in the Shenandoah and had permitted him to reinforce General Pierre Beauregard at the critical moment.

" Why did he not prevent the union of the rebels? " the *Tribune* asked, referring to General Patterson as " the miserable old man sipping mint juleps at leisure near the Pennsylvania border, diversifying his labors by returning escaped niggers to their rebel masters, and imprisoning newspaper correspondents for reporting his inactivity."

One of those who witnessed the disorderly retreat of the

Union forces that day at Bull Run near Washington was Senator Lyman Trumbull of Illinois. Another was W. H. Russell, correspondent of the *London Times*, whose reports, leaning always to sympathy with the Confederacy, were to irk the *Tribune* throughout the war.

On July 24 the *Tribune* said: "We awoke yesterday and found the *Chicago Tribune* had been elected commander in chief of the Grand Army at Washington, had commanded the American army at Bull Run and had caused the defeat."

This was a reply to a simultaneous attack directed at the *Tribune* by the other Chicago papers.

"The motive is malignant envy," said the *Tribune*. "They hate the *Tribune* because its business patronage overshadows theirs. They are all poor starveling things while their rival is handsomely sustained by an appreciative public."

On July 25 it was announced that the *Daily Democrat*, Wentworth's paper, had been discontinued and its subscription list, etc., taken over by the *Tribune*.

The "Forward to Richmond" call, the *Tribune* said on July 27, "had been answered by an unnecessary, disastrous and disgraceful defeat."

The editors called for "younger leaders of genius" and railed against "the painful indecision and feeble movements of the older leaders of the army."

"McClellan is here," said the Washington correspondent. "He is the star of hope."

There was another editorial on who was to blame at Bull Run, and an explanation of why the *Tribune* was not to blame. Governor Yates, it was announced, had offered thirteen regiments of infantry, three of cavalry and one of artillery. Indiana had offered ten new regiments.

"Do not spoil McClellan," said the *Tribune*. "He is already made a candidate for the Presidency by enthusiastic journalists who see in him the coming man. In Heaven's name, let

him alone. If there is good in him let the country profit thereby."

The Springfield, Peoria, and other Illinois papers were blasting away at the *Tribune* for its incitement to "advance" to what proved to be a defeat. The *Tribune* explained that probably General Scott never saw the *Chicago Tribune*. "A weak excuse," said the *Illinois Journal*.

In answer to a question — do you support the administration? the *Tribune* said on July 31: "Yes, but not in abject acquiescence in what we know is ill-advised and mistaken. The country exonerates Lincoln but would not be averse to the removal of the Secretary of War. He has been engaged in providing for his friends."

Chapter Thirteen

AND ANOTHER SHOCK

ANOTHER great disappointment was in store for the *Tribune* in this summer of 1861, in connection with the action in St. Louis of Major General Frémont who confiscated the slaves of the rebels and declared them free. This was "a light upon a hill" to the *Tribune* editors. Lincoln dimmed the light almost at once by countermanding the order, a fact which the *Tribune* editors could hardly believe at first; the rumor of which they had denied. The paper was severely criticized at this time for making slavery instead of the Union the issue. Public opinion was a long time in catching up with this view and in coming to the conclusion that slavery was the keystone of the war and that it must be abolished. Lincoln, who was

still worrying about opinion in the border states, was well aware of the slowness of this movement toward abolition.

On August 1 the *Tribune* called on the people to organize into regiments, to drill, and to acquire the rudiments of military science. Joseph Medill went into the recruiting business and was chiefly responsible, according to Professor Strevey, for the formation of the 8th Illinois Cavalry, commanded by Colonel John F. Farnsworth. Twenty members of the company enlisted from the *Tribune* office, among them William H. Medill, Joseph's brother. He enlisted first with Barker's Dragoons, then with the 8th Illinois, went into the Peninsula campaign, and died as a result of wounds received at Gettysburg.

Samuel J. Medill, another brother of the editor, who had come into the *Tribune* job office in 1860, tried to enlist at the outset of the war but was too young. In 1862 he also went into the 8th Illinois, fought at Antietam and at South Mountain in Virginia and was discharged later that year because of illness. He went to Beloit College and in 1864 became a reporter on the *Tribune* where he made a reputation as a sports reporter. He became city editor of the *Republican* in 1866 and in 1868 returned to the *Tribune* as city editor. He then went to Washington as correspondent, and in 1874 was made managing editor of the *Tribune*.

It was too hot in August, the *Tribune* thought, for any advance South, but " McClellan ere long will give the command — forward to Richmond. Gen. Frémont is in the West. Let the fleet be prepared for Charleston and the Stars and Stripes will be in New Orleans by January 8."

The call for the emancipation of the slaves was sounded again. As for Secretary Cameron, the *Tribune* said: " We don't like him. His appointment was a mistake, in our opinion, and we should not be sorry to have him removed. But no charge of dishonesty has been proved against him. If Cameron is stealing, let us have the proofs."

"Probably no city," said the *Tribune* on August 12, "has suffered less commercially and financially than Chicago." The paper anticipated a continued increase in business in the city.

A war meeting was called in Bryan Hall on August 12. A war subscription fund of $87,929 was announced and a Union Defense Committee appointed. It was resolved: "That committees be appointed in all prominent cities and towns of the state, with the duty to aid state and national authorities in the speedy organization and equipment of troops and in all other suitable matters pertaining to this contest and to foster, by correspondence or personal intercourse, a spirit of patriotic ardor through the commonwealth."

Medill was a prime mover in the organization of these defense committees, which played an important part in the war as the war spirit rose and fell, and secret opposition became more bold and dangerous.

General Frémont authorized the Union Defense Committee to uniform, equip, and subsist four regiments then forming.

"Begin to drill," said the *Tribune*. "Don't wait for guns, use oak staves."

Cape Girardeau, Missouri, birthplace of John Locke Scripps, was the scene of struggle, with 5,000 rebels getting ready to invade Illinois. A reporter was sent to the spot.

Of peace talk, the *Tribune* said on August 21, 1861: "He who, for any reason, political or personal, advocates a peace until the objects for which the people and the government contend, are attained, is a traitor to his country and his kind."

August 22 — "Slaves are the backbone of the rebellion. Let the government confiscate every slave of every rebel."

A war meeting was held on August 23. The *Tribune* warned against too much leniency being shown the "Northern Tories." It was against vigilante committees but warned the Knights of the Golden Circle that they must disband or take the consequences. In an editorial on "The President" on August 26 the *Tribune* said:

"Mr. Lincoln has points of character that weaken his efficiency in high station, however admirable they may be in private life, but they are trivial in injurious effect when compared with the strength that his virtues give to the people's cause. Honest, unselfish, whatever may come, he will never appear in the light of a usurper, and the liberties of the people, in all their precious value, are safe in his hands."

The war meeting at Bryan Hall was given a two-column story. Dr. Ray was one of the vice-presidents of the meeting and William Bross one of the secretaries. A resolution was passed to have the city council put a tax of one mill on the dollar for the formation and equipment of volunteers.

A New York newspaper was closed for calling the war unjust and unholy. "When newspapers become dangerous to the existence of the government," said the *Tribune*, "they should be punished by fine or suspension."

The *Tribune* expected no sympathy from the British. "John Bull's constitutional freedom is entirely limited to home use," the paper said on August 27. "England was the founder of American slavery. Without active interference it will take advantage of every opportunity to aid the cause of the rebels."

There was silence just then in Virginia and the *Tribune* began to raise its voice for "Forward to Richmond" again.

It was at this time that General Frémont issued his proclamation in St. Louis declaring martial law and decreeing that all the real and personal property of the rebels was confiscated and the slaves were free men.

"There was joyful satisfaction in the city on Friday's proclamation," said the *Tribune* of September 2. "People of the North are willing, nay desirous, that slavery remain subject to local laws and regulation of states wherever it exists. Let slaves stand aside as neutral. But when they are thrown in, the insurgents must be deprived of their assistance as a matter of self-protection.

"This is the hardpan of the rebellion. Down comes the hor-

rid institution which caused the war. . . . This country shall continue to exist though your rebel institution tumble about your ears and bury you forever in its ruins."

On September 3 a dispatch was carried that General Prentiss at Cape Girardeau had refused to command his column under General Grant. Grant placed Colonel Cook in command and telegraphed to Frémont. Later General Prentiss was superseded by Grant.

"This is no surprise," said the *Tribune*. "Prentiss was not educated as a soldier, Grant was. Skillful commanders are never, like poets, born; they are made."

Prince Napoleon, a cousin of Napoleon III, was at the Tremont House on September 3. The fruit season was on and the *Tribune* printed canning instructions. The national horse show was under way at Ottawa, Illinois.

It was estimated in the September 4 issue that there were twenty millions of people who supported the Union, and 11,500,000 rebels, with one to two million rebel sympathizers in the North.

On September 5 it was rumored that Lincoln had repudiated the Frémont proclamation. But the *Tribune's* Washington letter said that the proclamation had had a sympathetic reaction there and would speedily grow into a policy of the administration.

"Frémont's proclamation is our platform henceforth to the end of the war," said the *Tribune* of that day. "Attach no credit to the report from Kentucky that the President disapproves of the proclamation of Maj. Gen. Frémont. Unless the President wishes to dampen the courage and crush the energies of millions of Union men, he will not compel Frémont to take a step backward."

Then there was a report on September 7 that all the newspaper men on duty at Cairo had gone on an expedition "somewhere, probably with Grant to Paducah," and the *Tribune* was without its usual special dispatches. The paper of that date

said the story that the President had disapproved of the Frémont proclamation had been proved untrue, " as we expected."

" The action of Grant in taking Paducah is vital. Kentucky cannot now delay her decision."

On the subject of drafting soldiers, the *Tribune* said on September 10:

" The rebels resorted to drafting long ago, and thereby have been able to put in the field a larger army than the government. Why should our side refrain from drafting when it is found that volunteering will not supply men fast enough? Let the President designate the number each state must furnish, then if not forthcoming one way they will another."

" No man contends that the government under the Constitution has the right to decree the liberty of slaves in a loyal state, or to seize the property of citizens or put them to death. All these are war measures and only justified by rebels in arms. Is not the preservation of the government paramount to every other consideration? "

" Let the government draft 300,000 without delay and march them to camps of instruction," said the *Tribune* on September 11. The paper was taken to task by the *Illinois Register* for making slavery the issue, instead of the Union.

The Union Defense Committee plan of action, said the *Tribune* on September 13, was based on the Swiss plan of training. It urged county committees to promote organization of volunteers in each township, clubs for target shooting, registry, and prizes.

General Frémont set two slaves free under his proclamation, it was reported on September 14.

" The noblest deed since Jackson emancipated the blacks who fought with him at New Orleans," said the *Tribune*. " It is a light set upon a hill, whose beams shall illuminate our history and bless mankind."

One report was that Frémont had been superseded. " It is

impossible," said the *Tribune*, "that Lincoln, Seward and Chase shall now take so definite a step backward."

The next day the *Tribune* was confronted with just this disappointment. The President's letter countermanding the Frémont proclamation was issued. The *Tribune* printed it, but still questioned what it meant. The confiscation of slaves clause had been found objectionable by the President under acts of Congress.

The *Tribune* was finally forced to admit that this was a countermand, their "backward step." It is a good illustration of the differences the paper had with Lincoln. The *Times*, *Journal*, and *Post* fell lustily upon the *Tribune*, as might be expected. The *Illinois Register* thought the *Tribune* ought to be suppressed.

The editors had to swallow this, but they kept after the slave emancipation idea and said, "Organize, organize." Every man in sound health, no matter what his avocation, between 18 and 45, should be compelled to do weekly duty in a drill room."

National Fast Day was observed and pulpits on September 26 resounded with brave and patriotic words. The *Tribune* found some comfort in this. "Alone of all the journals in the city — the preachers of the necessity of liberty to the enslaved, as a basis of permanent peace and a groundwork for future prosperity, the title to the favor of Heaven and the good will of men — we are thankful for the clerical aid which the observance of Fast Day brought."

There was a seven-column report on the activities in the churches.

"The people can be trusted," said the *Tribune* on September 28. "They see ahead of government, press and pulpit. The march of human development sweeps grandly over the worst obstacles of ignorance and wickedness. They who seek to oppose it do but build sand hillocks on the sea shore, which the next wave shall level."

Chapter Fourteen

THE FRÉMONT SCANDALS

While "All Quiet on the Potomac" became a standard head in the *Tribune* during the remaining months of 1861, events crowded thickly in the western theater of war. The *Tribune*, which had supported General Frémont so fervently in his slave policy, now found it necessary to oppose his military policy. Editors and reporters investigated Frémont's army in Missouri. Charges were made and substantiated and they resulted in a great row and also in the removal of Frémont from his command.

The *Tribune* was bitterly attacked during this period. In its own comment on November 6 on the paper's charges against Frémont it was stated: "If no other number of the *Tribune* is ever printed; if we lose all we have; if our lives are forfeit for our words, we must speak."

Grant went into action at Belmont and his report of the battle there was made a matter of congratulation by the *Tribune*. General Henry W. Halleck came out to take command of the West. "Let his actions demonstrate what he is," said the *Tribune*, which later had occasion many times to demand his removal. Secretary Cameron entered an order regarding slavery and was overruled by Lincoln, to the deep disappointment of the *Tribune*. However, the paper thanked God on Thanksgiving Day "for Old Abe who is an honest man."

Illinois had forty-three regiments in service by October of

the first year of the war, and enough men enrolled in regiments in formation to make a total of 70,000.

The reports of the Frémont exposures from the *Tribune's* correspondent in Jefferson City stirred the opposition newspapers.

"Our correspondent is no man's man to fetch and carry," said the *Tribune* on October 2. "He tells plainly and graphically what he sees and knows, and trusts to time, as the *Tribune* always does, for vindication."

Defending itself further for its criticism of Frémont, the *Tribune* said on October 3: "We need not say that the *Tribune*, whatever its other faults, has not that of timidity, nor that in time of war, more than in days of security and peace, it refuses to be true to its honest convictions and patriotic duty. We know of no reason that exempts military men from criticism, and, if necessary, vigorous denunciation, that does not apply to civil servants in the people's life. We hold it to be a duty to denounce all who stand in the way of the triumph of the good cause, and it matters little to us whether those who impede are of our own faith and party or belong avowedly to the enemy. We bid our contemporaries, then, who would rather be victorious over the *Tribune* than over Jeff Davis, howl on. We can afford to be honest and fearless and to wait."

The report that Frémont had been superseded was the "talk of the town" on October 4. The *Tribune* printed two columns from *Brownson's Review*, organ of the Roman Catholic church, on slavery, calling the article logical and eloquent.

The merger of political parties into the Union party was begun on October 8, when a call was issued to the voters of Cook County for a convention to be held on October 24 to nominate officers of the county, and for "the purpose of giving undivided support to the government." This was signed by the Republican and Democratic central committees. Medill was one of the Republican signers.

On the same day, the *Tribune* said the President's interdic-

tion of the Frémont slave proclamation had had bad results in Missouri and called for its repeal.

A new camp of military instruction was opened at Camp Douglas on Cottage Grove Avenue at 35th Street.

An account was given on October 11 of an attack on James W. Sheahan, editor of the *Post*. One J. C. Phillips, meeting him on the street, tried to whip him with a cowhide. Four years later Sheahan joined the *Tribune* staff, as an editorial writer, and remained there until his death in 1883.

On the subject of business prospects in the West the *Tribune* said on October 16: "The West can cheerfully await the progress of commercial events. She has abundance of food and money. Surplus crops are rapidly placing the West in an independent position. We have every reason to hope for substantial prosperity. Let the rebellion be put down, cost what it may in blood and treasure."

The following statement on "the object of the war" was printed in capital letters:

"To maintain government and preserve the Union. Slavery is at the bottom of it, the great tap root. We thank God that party lines are being obliterated and party prejudices given up, and that people recognize more and more clearly the truth that the only road to success lies in Emancipation."

A meeting was held at the Briggs House to organize a "Sanitary Corps," which was a sort of Red Cross organization that functioned throughout the war. William Bross made the motion to organize.

A dispatch from Utah was printed on October 9, "a triumph for telegraphic enterprise." Brigham Young sent a message of congratulation to the president of the Pacific Telegraph Company in Cleveland. The New York-San Francisco telegraph line opened on October 25. The Pony Express was no more.

The order of Secretary Cameron of the War Department, heretofore mentioned, was to the effect that slaves who had

fled into the lines of the Union army should be held by the United States for service until the close of the war. They were to be registered and compensated for later, and in the meantime put to work for the government. The *Tribune* regarded this as "another step forward. The clouds are rent and the sun of universal liberty is shining through. Old Abe is himself again and the people will have no further cause for complaint." But the paper was due for another disappointment in Lincoln.

About this time the editors announced that the country was prosperous because "the nation has been practicing economy instead of expending specie to pay for liquors, luxuries and gewgaws. Foreign nations have paid us more than 36 millions for the product of our industry."

Western Senators, the *Tribune* said on November 1, were urging an advance on the Potomac. They had called on the President, who told them that he had left everything to McClellan and was without influence in the matter.

One hundred teamsters were wanted by the government at St. Louis, an advertisement in the *Tribune* stated. Wages, $20 a month and rations.

The retirement of General Scott and the placing of General McClellan in supreme command was announced on November 2.

The way to enlarge business, the *Tribune* told the merchants of the West, "is to advertise in the *Tribune*. Our terms are far below what they ought to be. Travel through the West and everywhere you will find the *Chicago Tribune*. All who are determined to achieve success ought to advertise constantly and largely in the *Tribune*."

The advertisements were chiefly business cards, with a few merchants taking several inches, sometimes half a column or more.

General Halleck consulted with Lincoln on the Frémont case, and on November 6 it was announced that Frémont had

been removed. The *Tribune*, which had made its own investigation, printed five columns on the case. There had been no immediate battles, but this situation was found to exist:

With insufficient supplies, a defective commissariat, ill organized medical and hospital department, our boys from Indiana, Iowa and Illinois have gone forth to suffer from hunger and perish from disease [the *Tribune* article stated]. Not less than 3,000, possibly 5,000, are lying along roads from Jefferson City, Tipton and Sedalia to Springfield, sick and ready to die. They are without attention, almost without food.

Frémont, behind his barricades, is debating shall the color of the horses of my bodyguard be dark or light bay? Shall I have white kid military gloves or wash leather?

We would that things were otherwise — that Gen. Frémont were all that we hoped he would prove to be.

But we must tell the truth. If no other number of the *Tribune* is ever printed; if we lose all we have; if our lives are forfeit for our words, we must speak. Our country demands it and we cannot be silent.

The next day the *Tribune* asked: "Friends, what shall be done? Our boys must not be permitted to die like beasts in the field." The paper asked for money, clothing, and hospital stores to be sent out under the Sanitary Commission, "an organization of good men without pay."

A list of casualties at the Battle of Belmont was printed on November 10, comprising a closely set column of names.

"A fortnight will not elapse," said the *Tribune* the next day, "before those who have most energetically scolded the *Tribune* for its course in the Frémont matter, will be the loudest in praise of the courage which enabled us to offend our friends, make new enemies and brave public opinion for the sake of telling the truth."

General Halleck came out to the Department of the West. "No more foolish advance praise of a man," said the *Tribune*. "Halleck is untried. Let him demonstrate his worth by his works."

A special report of the battle at Belmont was printed on November 13 containing the military reports of Generals Polk and Grant.

"A flaming and consuming patriotism is needed," said the *Tribune* editorially. "All should give way to the one purpose of saving the Republic and inflicting a retribution on the moral monsters who have launched the rebellion."

On November 14 the military and naval expedition to Southern harbors was hailed as "the beginning of the end."

"The year of jubilee" was the caption on the following editorial of November 15:

> When the war broke out the *Chicago Tribune* took the position that its end would be the destruction of slavery in the United States and we, from the first, have been openly and warmly in favor of helping on that destruction, that the end might be more speedily reached.
>
> Of course we were bitterly denounced. Men wrote us we were too fast, too radical. Other men stopped their papers and a concerted effort was made to coerce us into silence.
>
> But the *Tribune*, copying nobody, fearing nobody, asking nobody what to say or leave unsaid, acted on its convictions and persistently and unflinchingly followed the course marked out. And while the other great journals of the country were timid or silent, we, all over the East and West, got the credit of striking straight at the cause of the rebellion, and of being foremost, if not alone, in this direct battle against the gigantic evil by which our country was distracted and torn.

Attention was directed to the act of the Secretary of War and others in taking slaves and arming them if necessary and to an address to the troops by Colonel John Cochrane of the Tammany Hall regiment against slavery, and its approval by Secretary Cameron.

"Now we feel good," the article continued. "In the throats of these soldiers we hear the voice of God. Hereafter this war is to be no longer a velvet-fingered dalliance with slavery, but a struggle honored by men and approved by Heaven. Let the

watchword be Liberty and six months will not elapse before peace will smile upon this land guiltless of the ownership of a slave."

The fight against "wildcat money" and bad banking was continued at this time. A proposed new banking law, which the people had voted down, was taken as "a new vindication of efforts to watch over the people's welfare." The people were warned to watch against renewal of the bank law effort at the Constitutional Convention. The paper also kept after Frémont's "California gang," which had enriched itself while the general was in power. It also campaigned for state military instruction camps.

The capture of the Confederate diplomats, Mason and Slidell, who were taken from the steamship *Trent* while on its way to England and France was reported on November 17. These were "odious rebels, steeped in treason," according to the *Tribune*. It was not likely, the paper thought, that England would object to the right of seizure on the high seas, unless it was supporting the rebels.

The seizure on the *Trent*, the *Tribune* said on November 19, "may lead to unpleasant relations with Great Britain." That nation and the Confederate government were looked upon as allies. Legal decisions were quoted in support of the government.

General Grant's report of the Battle of Belmont was printed on November 20, 1861.

"If war has no worse thing in store for the honor of our troops than the Battle of Belmont we shall have cause for congratulation," said the *Tribune*. The *Trent* case, they said, should be left to the Cabinet and to lawyers. "We cannot afford bravado."

The annual report of the coroner showed 37 persons drowned during the year in Cook County, twenty-four dead from intemperance, twenty-five by railroads, thirteen by violence, one frozen, and one dead from destitution.

A gallery of fine arts was opened at 111 Randolph Street at this time.

The Battle of Bull Run was still being debated on November 21. Lincoln was reviewing troops near Arlington.

"It is the duty of Congress," said the *Tribune*, "to enact a law of confiscation against rebels and apply it first to slaves."

Special rates for the *Tribune* were offered to soldiers, 10 cents a month for the weekly and 50 cents for the daily, delivered in the field.

"If war with England must come," the *Tribune* said on November 22, "A Republic without a slave, a coward or a traitor, will be the result."

"What have we to be thankful for?" was answered on November 27: "For a knowledge of God, the Father; for the example of His Son; for the Holy Word, for the hope of immortal life. Amen.

"For the fruitful season and good prices. For the Republican victory of 1860, for Old Abe who is an honest man — for the constancy of readers who have supported the *Tribune* while its editors told the truth."

The Frémont row was still on. The *Chicago Journal* printed an item from a German paper which said that Bross went to the St. Louis headquarters of the general and asked to be made a colonel. When refused, the article continued, the *Tribune* became virtuous and in quick succession Ray, Medill, and Scripps appeared at headquarters and asked for contracts, with no success. "Every allegation is false," said the *Tribune*, "without the shadow of excuse; wantonly, maliciously and knowingly false, and the inventor is a liar."

The *Tribune* in an editorial suggested the form of a memorial to Congress by the people in which the total abolition of slavery under the war power was demanded.

The blockade of the Mississippi had stimulated the Chicago grain trade. Fifty-four million bushels were shipped during

the year, an advance of seventeen millions. Chicago was second to Cincinnati in packing.

The winter of 1861–2 saw the first rosy hopes for a quick victory over the rebels fade into gray days of waiting. The President, too, was slow in the matter of action on the slavery question. Of the President's message, printed December 3, the *Tribune* said:

" The cautious language of the President [on slavery] does not hide from us, who know the deep moral conviction of the man, the purpose that he has in view. He comes to an advanced position – we make progress. We foresee the end, perhaps a long way off, a Republic without a traitor or a slave."

The Washington letter was written by Horace White. " White will remain at the capital during the present session," said the *Tribune*. " He is no trimmer or compromiser, but one who believes that to go straight forward in the path of duty is always politic; that the right is ever expedient, and in that spirit he will write."

White said in his first letter that the slavery issue overshadowed everything else at the session. " And why not? " he wrote. " There is a just God before whom slavery stands a stupendous crime."

Secretary Cameron reported on December 5 that the army had 660,971 troops in the field. " A greater army than Napoleon," said the *Tribune*. " Cameron's attitude on slave confiscation is a triumph and vindication for the *Tribune*. . . . The army regulars are too tender with slavery. The leaven must be worked out of them. McDowell at Bull Run, Smith at Paducah, Stone at Ball's Bluff, were more anxious to wage war to the end that slavery should not be hurt than to win Union victories. Let Congress abolish the distinction between regulars and volunteers. Let Gen. C. F. Smith at Paducah be retired to private life."

The *Tribune's* latest disappointment with Lincoln followed the President's suppression of the section on slavery in the

Cameron report and there was a Cabinet crisis on the issue. Senator Trumbull introduced a bill to confiscate and free the slaves of the rebels.

On December 7 the *Tribune* exposed a scheme to swindle the government on lumber at Cairo.

It was reported on December 15 that Charleston, South Carolina, was burning and that there was a slave insurrection there. "Too good to be true," said the *Tribune*.

Under a heading, "Very Latest – 3 a.m. War, War, War," it was announced that Great Britain had demanded the release of Mason and Slidell with an apology, or war would be declared. Preparations for war were being made in Canada.

"The city was startled like the shock of an earthquake," the *Tribune* said, commenting: "This is a delicate affair. The English rulers hate our institutions. Some other cause would come up and we are clearly of the opinion that we must fight. This Republic has the ability to fight England for 100 years and come out victorious."

A midnight edition of the paper for trains going west and south was announced on December 20, and an evening edition on December 23. This made three editions of the *Tribune*, which was expanding under war pressure.

The Mason-Slidell affair was reported as settled on December 29. The Confederate envoys had been surrendered to England.

"This was no humiliation," the *Tribune* said. "We confess that we are quite too busy at home to undertake an unnecessary war with another nation. If war comes it must be of their seeking."

As to the home war, as the first disappointing year ended, there was "nothing to do but fight it out. The dream of the Southern Confederacy fades away."

Chapter Fifteen

GRANT'S STAR RISES

"An Active War," was the reiterated demand of the *Tribune* as the year 1862 began with disillusionment as to an early victory or an easy one. "The armies of the Republic are broken and disorganized – the enemy defiant and jubilant," the paper said in January.

As if in answer to their plea for an "active war," or as if the editors had prescience of events, Grant moved out of Cairo, and within a month Clark Street in front of the *Tribune* office was blocked one day by the crowds that read of the fall of Fort Donelson. This was when "unconditional surrender" became the watchword. Grant was really started on the career which led finally to Appomattox and the White House. The silent man who smoked his cigar and said nothing under abuse was proving to be the military genius that the North had watched and prayed for.

The *Tribune* started the new year with a fresh warning against "rag money mills," suggesting a national war tax on all bank circulation money. Cotton culture was urged on the Northwest. The Constitutional Convention began sessions on January 6 and a tax on spirits, ale, wine, and beer to meet war expenses was proposed.

"The war is vigorously held back from glorious results," said the *Tribune*. "The contractors are the only ones pleased. Let Congress face its task."

Joseph A. Ware was sent with the army to Bowling Green,

Kentucky, and another correspondent went to Cumberland Gap, Tennessee, thereby increasing greatly its current expenses, *Tribune* readers were told. It was from this point on that the news department began to develop according to what might be described as metropolitan standards.

Grant was now at Cairo, gathering 60,000 to 70,000 troops for an advance on Nashville, it was reported on January 9. The *Tribune* looked on this move hopefully, although private letters from Bross to Congressman Washburne and from Medill to Senator Trumbull showed that they regarded Grant's drinking habits with profound aversion.

"What is wanted to revive the drooping finances of the country?" the *Tribune* asked on January 12, "What is wanted to restore the confidence of the loyal people of the country? What is wanted to win respect of our country abroad? What is wanted by our Army? What is needed to awe the rebellion? What alone can save us from dismemberment of loyal states? The answer is, An Active War."

It was pointed out in an editorial on January 13 that there were two parties in England, "the Lords who are against us and the Commons who wish us well."

The resignation of Secretary of War Cameron was reported on January 14. He was named Minister to Russia. "Was it at his own instance?" asked the *Tribune*. "Or did the pro-slavery unionists have something to do with it? He had his faults and strong points — we think he was improving. . . . Edwin M. Stanton comes in. We hope the country has not lost by the exchange."

Day after day, with triphammer effect, the *Tribune* pounded away on its slavery views. The paper was alive, however, to all business activities. Specials were carried at this time on horse and lumber trades. The problem of drunken soldiers was discussed.

"Forward March," was a headline of January 15. Grant and his staff were leaving Cairo. The editors decided that

Stanton was "a very able, earnest man," but questioned whether "he is tender to slave holders or not."

The January 16 Washington letter said that Stanton was at heart a Free Soil Democrat. The report that General McClellan did not desire Union success was questioned. "He has on his shoulders a greater responsibility than ever fell to the lot of a single man with the exception of Napoleon Bonaparte. But he is not a Bonaparte in any sense," the *Tribune* commented.

The 1862 prospectus of the *Tribune*, printed on January 18, said:

> No compromise with traitors. The Union — it must and shall be preserved. This well known and popular journal is noted for its candor, fearlessness and independence. It has aimed to be right rather than popular, and takes the responsibility of telling the truth, regardless of the offense it may give to prejudice and ignorance. The principles which the *Tribune* espouses and advocates are:
>
> The cause of Freedom, Justice and Humanity, improvement of moral, mental and physical condition of the masses, perpetuity of the Union, obedience to the Constitution, free homesteads for the landless, the encouragement of home industry, no political jobbery, honest men for office, economy in government, a sound currency and death to wildcat shinplasters.
>
> It also aims to be a first class newspaper. It pays more money for special telegraphic dispatches than any journal not in New York and publishes more and fresher news than any journal in the West.

A description and a 3-column map of the Western seat of war was published on January 21.

"The people of the West are now prepared to hear from Gen. Grant."

Grant was back in Cairo. His "great advance" had turned out to be a long reconnaisance of the enemy position. "The armies of the Republic are broken and disorganized, the enemy defiant and jubilant," said the *Tribune*.

A new watchword was taken from Secretary Stanton's gen-

eral order on January 24 as follows: "The purpose of war is to attack, pursue and destroy the rebellious enemy, and to deliver the country from the danger menaced by traitors."

The *Tribune* now thought the prospects were brightening with the coming of Stanton. An avalanche of letters to Congress urged the necessity of enlarging the Illinois-Michigan Canal as a war measure.

In "A Look Ahead" on January 26 the *Tribune* said: "The actors and scenes of today, blinded by the passions and prejudices of the period, have but a faint idea of the judgments which posterity, elevated above the fogs of ignorance and hate which obscure the vision now, will pronounce upon their words and deeds. But of one thing we may be assured, that the vituperation and scorn with which a large body of men who desire the freedom of four millions of our country's slaves, are visited will be the source of never failing wonder to succeeding ages – imperishable monuments of the folly and crime in which a popular national sin may culminate."

A "mammoth expedition" was reported to be on foot from Cairo on February 1. McClellan was criticized for a "hold back, do nothing policy. The Union cannot be saved by standing still or waiting for the rebellion to exhaust itself; like the fool in the fable who sat down by the river bank for the flood to flow past, that he might cross dry shod."

The paper was also critical of the army, under Halleck, returning fugitive slaves to their masters.

Local attention was called to "vile dens and brothels" in Chicago.

The news of Grant's expedition up the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers, with the objectives of Forts Henry and Donelson, was reported on February 4. On February 5 a two-column map of the Kentucky war scene was printed. A Paducah special dispatch said that Grant was below the forts.

Fort Henry was taken and Donelson was about to be attacked, it was reported on February 8. "Let the Western boys

go in and win. We appeal to Washington to hurry with reserves, arms, munitions and assistance and to keep hands off. Let us have no red tape, no hesitation, no more ill-timed and costly timidity, no more distrust of the courage and endurance of our Western troops. They want to fight. The road is open. Let the Union flag be advanced."

"For shame," said the *Tribune* of the action of the Constitutional Convention in referring for examination a resolution of congratulation to the Union troops at Fort Henry. This was called a "disloyal manifestation. Sound the charge and let the boys pitch in."

Maps of Forts Henry and Donelson were published on February 11. The columns of war correspondence from staff men were well written, filled with interesting details that did not betray military secrets. Nearly every family in Chicago had a member or friend in the service before the war was over and these letters from the field were tremendous circulation builders as well as important in forming public opinion.

J. K. C. Forrest, the *Tribune's* special correspondent at Springfield who in earlier years had been one of the editors, had the distinction of being "investigated" by the Constitutional Convention at this time for reporting the rumor that nearly a majority of the members of that body were members of the Knights of the Golden Circle. Reporter Ives of the *New York Herald* was arrested at Grant's headquarters. This delighted the *Tribune*. "Now what will old man Bennett do?"

A general map of the Cumberland Expedition area was printed on February 16. The *Tribune* thought that the way "into the heart of Secessia" had been opened. The Springfield convention was referred to as "a mob."

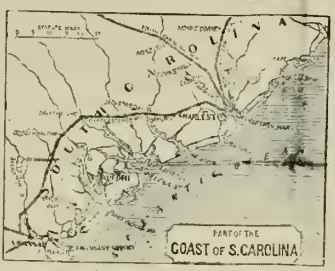
A special dispatch from headquarters near Donelson on February 17 gave a biography of Grant and a description of the forces engaged.

Fort Donelson was taken that day by Grant and the *Tribune* page-1 story was decorated with two flags, the Stars and

Chicago Tribune.

VOLUME XV. CHICAGO, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1862. NUMBER 190.

THE OCCUPATION OF SAVANNAH.



The Seat of War on the Southern Coast

THE LATEST NEWS BY TELEGRAPH.

DAY OF GREAT EVENTS

Fort Donelson Taken

SAVANNAH OCCUPIED

DISPERSAL OF GEN. PRICE.

Reported Execution of 4 Members

Fort Donelson Surrendered Unconditionally on Sunday.

Three Rebel Generals and 15,000 Troops Prisoners.

JOHNSTON, PILLOW AND FLOYD

GUN BOATS STEAM HITHERTO IN IT.

Rebel Loss 300 Killed 600 Wounded 100 Missing

REBEL LOSS TERRIBLY SEVERE

EXCITEMENT IN THE COUNTRY

Rejoicings—Gen. Pillow—Public Demonstrations Everywhere

FROM WASHINGTON.

THE FT. DONELSON VICTORY.

Latest and Most Complete Particulars.

INCIDENTS OF SIGNAL VALOR

Popular Enthusiasm in the Country.

SAVANNAH CAPTURED!

FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

CONFIRMED RETREAT OF PRICE.

Generals Pigot and Curtis After Him

THE CAPTURE OF SAVANNAH

HOW IT WAS ACCOMPLISHED

New Advertisements.

OILS! OILS! OILS!!!

A. E. Goodall & Co.,

CARBON OIL.

FENCE WIRE

10,000 Bundles

AMERICAN

FENCE WIRE.

LOW PRICES FOR CASH.

VANDERVOORT, DICKERSON & CO.,

HOWE'S IMPROVED

SCALES,

AND

Winship's Self-Ventilating

REFRIGERATORS.

RIPON CENTRAL HALL

JUST RECEIVED

PRINT BRAIZE,

Black, Brown and Assorted Colors.

CHAS. A. MEIER & SON.

A. F. STOWELL

C. E. WOODRUFF & CO.

JOHN STEPP,

More news on the front page and the appearance of maps and other non-advertising illustrations, were Tribune *developments in Civil War days.*

Stripes and the "rattlesnake" flag. Under the Union emblem it stated:

> This is the glorious old banner that now waves in triumph over Fort Donelson. Below is the rattlesnake flag. This is the emblem that slunk away before the resistless valor of Illinois boys and will hurry to hide itself in the deepest fastnesses of Whippy Swamp.
>
> Citizens, study these two emblems in the light of the stern conflict in the Cumberland. Did they die in vain and for a worthless prize, who lay down their lives at Donelson that the starry flag might float again over a re-united land?

A subscription fund was started at once for the wounded. A one-column story from the battlefield said that 15,000 prisoners had been taken on the 15th. At one time, it was stated, the troops were disheartened as 12,000 rebels tried to cut them down. Then Grant saw that something should be done and ordered an assault by Brigadier General Charles F. Smith.

It was a day long to be remembered in the city, the *Tribune* said. The first dispatch, "Donelson Is Ours" reached the office at 10 p.m. "Clark Street in front of the office was filled with a crowd that blocked traffic. The dispatch was read to them. It was followed by a pause whose hushed stillness might be felt, and then broke out such a cheer as men do not often hear in a lifetime. The scene that followed beggars description. Humanity will bless God for a great work accomplished, Liberty avenged and triumphant, while treason totters to its crumbling base."

On February 19 a five-column report gave the details of the Donelson surrender in which Grant sent the message that brought him his first fame: "No terms but unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted." The army was referred to as "General Grant's Grand Army."

There was also a four-column story on General Ambrose E. Burnside's victorious expedition to Roanoke Island.

"Try the leaders for treason," said the *Tribune* of the defeated rebels. The national flag was shown again on February

20, 1862, "now on the soil of every state except Alabama, Louisiana and Texas." Grant was made a Major General. Camp Douglas at Cottage Grove became a prison for rebels who began to stream into Chicago.

"Unconditional surrender," said the *Tribune* on February 21, adopting Grant's term, "is that for which true men will struggle, though it may cost half a million lives and the cotton states smoke with fire from Texas to Charleston."

Chapter Sixteen

FIGHT FOR NEWS SERVICES

With telegraphic dispatches growing in importance as the theater of war widened, and because the *Tribune* editors, particularly Medill, did not think the Associated Press of New York was giving the Western papers a fair share of the news, a struggle was begun in the spring of 1862 which lasted for many years and which resulted finally in the modern, unbiased Associated Press.

On February 27 at 3 a.m., all newspaper presses were stopped by an order from Secretary Stanton. Only after the army censors had gone over the war copy were the papers permitted to publish. This was explained on March 1, as follows: "It was intended to cut down speculation and the description of fortified places. It puts an end to guessing, but whatever the public ought to know will be as free to the press as ever. We shall hear thunder coming from every point between Norfolk and Columbus before another week has passed."

A dispatch from Cairo said that there were 6,000 Federal

dead at Donelson. The Nashville government had fled to Memphis. "Who slew all these? " asked the *Tribune*. "They were murdered by Slavery, that sanctified thing, Slavery which the fanatics who agree with the *Tribune* propose to throttle and when dead throw to the dogs or the Dark Ages."

The *Chicago Times* articles at this period, the *Tribune* said, were "composed of secession, nonsense and rant."

A report from news agents in Indiana was that thirty *Tribunes* were sold to three copies of the *Times*.

"News from Gen. Grant's Column" became a regular feature after this, the *Tribune* keeping staff men with him. The eastern theater of war was covered chiefly by the Associated Press dispatches and by taking service or clippings from the New York papers.

Oliver Gramling in his *AP: The Story of News* says (page 60) that in the beginning the New York Associated Press was a news oligarchy and that the papers west of the Alleghenies got only a minor portion of the daily file.

"By the second year of the Civil War," he says, "the publishers of Western papers had started to prepare for journalism's own internal conflict. The call to arms — necessarily a discreet one — was sounded by Joseph Medill, the erect, sharp-featured publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*." (Medill at this time was not the publisher, but one of four owner-editors.)

News dispatches at that time came only between 6 and 10 o'clock in the evening. The *Tribune* belonged to the Western Associated Press, a loosely grouped regional affiliation.

In 1862, Gramling relates, a letter went out from the *Tribune* to fellow publishers. "It was time, it hinted, for Westerners to unite in a real alliance, but they must do it warily so as not to arouse the suspicions of New York or to provoke reprisals. Medill suggested a meeting."

The meeting was held in 1862 at Indianapolis, and Medill was chosen as chairman. In 1863 another meeting was held at Dayton and it was voted to send a committee to New York to

see about receiving better news reports. They succeeded in getting a news agent in New York for the Western Associated Press, three hundred extra words for the afternoon papers, and one thousand words on the wire after 10 p.m. In 1864 at a Cincinnati meeting Medill urged that the Western Associated Press be incorporated. Chicago had become the seat of a Western news empire of one hundred and three journals. The Western Associated Press was chartered in Louisville in 1865 and Medill stepped aside as chairman. The question then came into the open as to equality with New York in news, or independence. Horace White of the *Tribune* and Murat Halstead of the *Cincinnati Commercial* were sent to New York to obtain concessions or to make other arrangements for news. They wanted an equal voice in all news gathering. The New York Associated Press president said that the Western Associated Press could not be considered on grounds of equality. White and Halstead served notice that the Western Associated Press planned to assume control of its own news reports and would no longer be subordinate to New York. In 1866 the war for news was on in earnest. On December 12, 1866, at a Chicago meeting, Medill stepped in, called the New York Associated Press a monopoly and, speaking for twelve millions in twelve states said: "Don't be afraid of independence. It is not going to hurt you. It will not be long before these New York birds of paradise will come down from their lofty trees and roost lower."

A divorce from New York was approved at this meeting and New York began to weaken. Medill, White, and others went to New York and a peace pact was made with new news arrangements. But these still left New York in the leadership and differences continued.

On March 4, 1862, the *Tribune* said, under the heading "One Year Ago": "We write in the firm faith that on the second anniversary of Lincoln's inauguration every inch of seceded territory will be reclaimed and the national authority

will be restored over every state in the Union; that the infernal rebellion will be crushed out and the leaders of it hung or banished, and their property confiscated to help pay the costs of putting down the revolt. If not dead, it will at least be left with nothing further to do than to go on dying."

On March 5 Columbus was occupied and Kentucky became free. The *Tribune* printed Jefferson Davis' inaugural address on page 1. An expedition was expected to leave Kentucky for New Orleans. A map of the territory was printed.

Lincoln, on March 7, proposed compensated emancipation for slaves. Three columns were given to the defense of General Frémont, reprinted from the *New York Tribune*. The old charge was made that the *Chicago Tribune* had attacked Frémont because it failed to get contracts. Denials were repeated.

"No one from the *Tribune* ever sought anything from Frémont. One of the editors visited him once to expose the infamy of a Frémont man in the matter of contracts."

On March 10 and 11 the *Tribune* printed maps and particulars of the fight between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* at Fortress Monroe.

The *Tribune* found a great idea in the President's message that the nation must be purged of slavery, but made no comment on the method he proposed.

The retirement of General McClellan as commander in chief was announced on March 12. "History will say of him," said the *Tribune*, "that he was weighed in the balance against duties that have rarely if ever fallen to the lot of a military leader and that he has been found wanting."

The Federal advance in Arkansas under Brigadier General Samuel R. Curtis was reported in full. The rebels were surrounded at New Madrid, Missouri, it was reported.

Robert E. Lee was made commander in chief of the Confederate army on March 13. Reports of the rebel congress and other news from "Secessia" were given in reprints from Southern papers.

"McClellan has now been reduced to a department commander," said the *Tribune*. "He will now have to fight and will not be looking forward to the next Presidency."

The report from Cairo was that Grant had been relieved from command and superseded by General Smith. Much astonishment and regret was manifested, the report said, for Grant was popular with his command and "an officer of acknowledged merit."

Two closely set columns gave the list of killed and wounded at Donelson in the March 14 issue. The *Tribune* advised the Chicago merchants, now that the rivers were open, to get after the Southern trade. It also had suggestions for getting Chicago out of the mud, which was deep in the springtime.

As to the relative merits of the Western soldiers and the Army of the Potomac, the *Tribune* said: "Let it take lesson from the strategy of the Western armies. Donelson was stronger than the rebel position in Virginia. Our men went through deep mud, rain, snow, hail, with three nights of little sleep, three days of labor and danger, hard work and hard fare. They fought and conquered. This is the kind of strategy that pleases the people."

As if in answer to this demand, McClellan on March 17, as department commander, told his soldiers that they were ready for action. "This army has taken eight months in preparation and has cost two hundred millions," the *Tribune* said. "The country now expects great things. The undisciplined Western boys have shown the way."

A *Tribune* correspondent set out with a naval expedition which left Cairo. A special dispatch came from Springfield, Missouri, via Rolla, telling of the battle of Pea Ridge and speaking again of "the resistless valor of the Western troops." The returns of killed and wounded, however, were heavy.

The Illinois Constitutional Convention, against which the *Tribune* was waging its own war, was said on March 18 to have forty-two votes to "permit slaveholders to bring their

slaves into this state." There was a new conspiracy in the nation, the *Tribune* said, to delay and fritter away the resources of the nation and thus aid the South.

The new theater of war in the Mississippi Valley was explained by maps and three columns of description on March 19. The *Chicago Times* said that "There has been a strong disposition in the public mind in this city during the last few days to shell the morning abolition newspaper concern out of its habitation, after the manner of the shelling out the rebels from Island No. 10." The *Tribune* printed this "to show the real malignancy and atrocious principles of that sheet," and added:

"The *Chicago Tribune* represents the feelings and hopes of the majority of the people of this state and the Northwest. It speaks the sentiments of three-fourths of the volunteer army. The *Times* has mistaken its theatre. Paragraphs like this might do in Charleston, but in Chicago, a city preeminent for its observance of law and attachment to order, in which toleration of opinion is so broad and comprehensive that the *Times* can daily spout its treason and go unharmed, such incitements to violence should not go unpunished."

Chapter Seventeen

SHILOH AND ISLAND NO. 10

CHICAGO grew as a business center and the packing business boomed as the spring of 1862 lengthened into summer. But the war was being brought home to the people. The *Tribune* printed long, closely set columns of the dead, wounded, and missing many times that spring.

By March 20, 1862, the *Tribune* had decided that Grant was the kind of officer the country needed, although he had been removed from his command by Halleck for being absent from the scene of action at a certain point in the Donelson assault.

"The report that Grant was deprived of his command because of intemperate habits is unjust," said the *Tribune*. "Grant is the only commanding officer in the army who has ever given us cause for personal dislike, but we forget that in the anxiety to do justice to his gallantry, daring and success. The charges against him are red tape in spirit and policy and when they are known they will not affect his reputation as a soldier. Grant planned well and fought well and the success at Donelson is, after the bravery and endurance of his troops, due solely to the dispositions he made. Grant's absence from the field at one point was due to an order from Commander Foote, his superior in rank, who had sent for him."

Three columns were printed on March 21 on the five-day battle in shelling Island No. 10. George P. Upton was the correspondent at the front.

The expenses of the government were now said to be four millions a day. The *Tribune* said that it had foreseen from the first that the question of the power of the nation to conquer its enemies would resolve itself into a question of money, and it reminded its readers again of a plot of the halfhearted to hold back the Republic and the war. "Lincoln is aware of the plot and has reassumed what he ought never to have relinquished or surrendered, the supreme command. And now the armies of the Republic must go ahead. Victory without bankruptcy has been the motto that we have labored to inscribe on the banners of every commander."

It was announced on March 22 that the Constitutional Convention had adjourned and that the constitution would be submitted to vote on June 12. Commissioners were to visit the camps and take the soldiers' votes. This was a creditable thing,

the *Tribune* said, and it may have been this that later caused the paper to advocate the soldier vote in the 1864 election, a vote which saved the day for the Union party and Lincoln.

Grant was reinstated in command of the Tennessee River expedition. Chicago was knee deep in snow. The roof of the *Chicago Times* office crashed under the white burden and that pet enemy of the *Tribune* could not get out a paper. The *Tribune* extended its sympathy over this disaster.

"Grant will make the dry bones of secession rattle pretty soon," said the *Tribune* on March 23. They found the new constitution not as good as the old one, a "cunning Egyptian contrivance," and said it probably would be voted down. Wendell Phillips was egged and hissed at Cincinnati, showing that it took courage to be an abolitionist even in the second year of the war. The *Tribune* called this attack an outrage. "He is coming here soon and we shall know whether Chicago is in South Carolina or in northern Illinois."

Phillips arrived to speak at Bryan Hall. "Mr. Phillips will speak and will find that free speech is not one of the lost arts in this latitude," said the *Tribune* on March 28. "Every policeman will be in his place." The meeting and the lecture went off without trouble, with forty policemen on hand.

By April 1, 1862, Chicago was packing more pork than any other city in the United States. The siege of Island No. 10 was still on and a special letter on the situation was signed "B," probably Bross.

The Battle of Pittsburg Landing and the surrender of Island No. 10 were reported on April 9. "Grant displayed the qualities of a great general," said the *Tribune* the next day. "He exhibited most heroic bravery at Pittsburg. With issues trembling in the balance the second day he ordered a charge across the field, himself leading. They fell on the rebels like a destroying avalanche. In all Napoleon's career there is nothing to exceed this charge in gallantry and daring."

A trade report was published on page 1. Chicago was now

" the greatest beef and pork, largest grain and lumber market in the world."

Columns of battle description were printed. " The beginning of the end is nigh," said the *Tribune*. " When we once possess Corinth our troops can shake hands with Butler on the Gulf."

The slaughter at the front was terrible and there was a requisition on Chicago for doctors and nurses. The people responded and later a letter from Grant's column on April 12 said that no more help was needed. A Republican local ticket was before the people again, as the leaders were resolved to use their strength to carry through Congress the act confiscating the property of rebels, chiefly slaves. Senator Trumbull was making the fight for this in Washington.

Three thousand rebel prisoners arrived at Camp Douglas. The *Tribune* correspondent at Pittsburg Landing had volunteered as an assistant surgeon and had been wounded in the thigh, so there were no more dispatches from him for a time. Accounts of the battle there were taken from the *Cincinnati Times*. The correspondent was Dr. Frank W. Reilly, who received a ball in the leg. He was invalided home and his story printed. He was later to become managing editor of the *Chicago Morning News* and also a public health official.

A long list of sick and wounded soldiers was printed on April 15. C. N. Holden was made the Republican nominee for mayor. In a light vote, Holden was defeated, it was announced on April 16. Francis S. Sherman, whom the *Tribune* had opposed, was elected. A one-page supplement was issued on the soldier list of sick and wounded. Editorials appeared on the third page, in addition to the first-page editorial news summations.

The *Times* and the *Post* said that they had won a triumph over " abolitionism " in the election. " May our Republican friends profit from the experience; we warned them," said the *Times*.

Lincoln signed an act abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia.

More lists of wounded appeared on April 18. The Reverend Robert Collyer, close friend of the *Tribune* editors, visited the battlefields and wrote a story about them. Upton was on board the gunboat *St. Louis* with Pope's expedition to Fort Pillow. Navigation was opened on the Great Lakes. "Chicago begins the task of feeding the world," said the *Tribune*. "It has five million bushels of grain and 1,000,000 barrels of flour to ship."

The fourth anniversary of the Y.M.C.A. in Chicago was given a three-column spread on April 22. There was a one-page supplement, with a great increase in small ads.

Two columns from correspondent Upton with the Mississippi Flotilla appeared on April 23, with maps.

Pittsburg Landing reminded the *Tribune* of Waterloo. "Both were fought on the Lord's Day. The echoes will be heard in ages to come."

A reader wrote that he had dropped the *Tribune* because of its abolitionist tendencies and because it was always talking about slavery. The *Tribune* said it would wait for the conversion of this reader and in the meantime "will throw all the light it can upon the questions of the day. This trying time is bringing out the pure gold and severely testing the dross."

The navy of the future would be of iron, the *Tribune* prophesied on April 25, commenting on the results of the *Monitor* battle. It called for the punishment of traitors, and the fall of slavery. The proposed new state constitution was given two pages. It was declared "a botch job and a fraud on the people."

Senator Browning was attacked on April 29 for opposing the slave confiscation bill. "He stabs loyalty to the heart."

Little was heard of Grant these days, the *Tribune* commented, after printing a two-column report from "F" at Camp Shiloh. The Western army was now Halleck's army.

Business prospects were reported good on May 1. "All the

leading wholesale and retail houses are fully occupied. The sidewalks are filled with people and the streets swarm with every imaginable kind of vehicle that wealth can command or business can employ."

The losses at Pittsburg Landing were reported as 13,763 killed, wounded, and missing. A letter from General Grant was printed, replying to criticisms of his management of the battle. "I will go on and do my duty to the very best of my ability," Grant said, "without praise, and do all I can to bring this war to a speedy close."

A special meeting of the Board of Trade was held on evidence given in the *Tribune* on warehouse frauds. The *Tribune* was attacked for its exposé. Commercial editor Ballantyne spoke. "A great cry and little wool," said the *Tribune* of these attacks. "The *Tribune* still lives."

A special appeal was carried in the *Tribune* of May 4 for food and supplies to be given to the soldiers through the Chicago Sanitary Commission. They wanted "plates, cups, spoons, spittoons, ale, porter, wine, eggs, dried beef, codfish and ice."

Page-1 dispatches were carried from Shiloh and Cairo. Mayor Sherman was inaugurated. LaSalle Street was being opened and other downtown repairs made. Outlying real estate and farms were on the rise in value.

Full details of the Battle of New Orleans were given on May 11. The annual police report showed fifty-nine patrolmen on the force. There had been 8,782 arrests during the year. A big military funeral was held for members of the Chicago Light Artillery who fell at Shiloh, as the Battle of Pittsburg Landing came to be called.

General David Hunter's proclamation freeing the slaves under his military jurisdiction in South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida received the moral support of the *Tribune*, but in the light of their previous experience with Lincoln and Frémont, the editors feared the order would be overturned, and there-

fore declined to give it political support. Lincoln must lead off and create a national policy, and generals must not take over Cabinet policy. Lincoln was still talking of compensated emancipation, but apparently the *Tribune* was aware that he had an emancipation proclamation under consideration, for on May 20 it said:

" We have held and hold now that the time is ripe in which Mr. Lincoln's manifesto, made in his character as constitutional commander in chief of the army and navy, and in which the freedom of all slaves of rebels in arms against the government is declared, should be given to the world. Anything short of this is quackery, trifling with a matter which transcends all other matters of national concern."

On May 21 the *Tribune* said: " We wait patiently the President's choice of a time when the trumpet which will startle the world will sound. Emancipation cannot be long deferred."

Chapter Eighteen

A SUMMER OF CRISIS

On the Fourth of July, 1862, the *Tribune* editors, in surveying the fluctuating situation, found the Republic in real danger of its existence. They were firm in the faith, however, that " the great commander " would make his appearance, and they seemed to feel that he would be Grant. The " Voice of God " said that slavery must end. " Let my people go," the *Tribune* quoted from the story of the captive Israelites.

Grant was around Vicksburg and the first of many disheartening rumors came from that quarter.

A private war between General Halleck and the press had begun in May, and Halleck had banished the correspondents from his headquarters at Cairo. "His insult to the press is wholly gratuitous and does credit neither to his heart or brain," said the *Tribune* on May 22.

The correspondent with the army in Mississippi reported that the *Tribune* led all papers in circulation among the soldiers. "If enough *Tribunes* were forthcoming," he told the circulation department, "The *Times* would not find a purchaser, as 'that sheet is despised most heartily by our volunteers from northern Illinois.'"

A real-estate supplement was printed on May 23 and the returns began to come in from the soldier vote on the new constitution. The *Tribune* on page 1 printed a remark by a Democratic soldier at the front: "I would shoot the editor of the *Times* if I had him down here in these secesh woods."

The *Tribune* suggested that the editors of Northern journals hold a convention and assert their rights in relation to the army. "It is time for the press to assert itself and, in the service of the loyal men of the North for whom it labors, to break down this military domination which, not content with wielding dangerous power, asserts its right to wield it in secret."

The President called for 700,000 volunteers.

Fourteen correspondents assigned to Halleck's headquarters signed a statement which was printed on May 22. Richard J. Hinton signed for the *Tribune*. They said that Halleck gave them access only to a bulletin board at Pittsburg Landing and would accept no proofs of loyalty. Halleck had resolved to exclude all civilians because the enemy had spies in camp.

In Washington, as the month of May ended, the House of Representatives still refused to act upon the question of the slaves of rebels.

The *Tribune* presented thirty reasons why the new state constitution should be voted down. A war meeting was called for Bryan Hall, at which the mayor urged volunteers to en-

roll under the new call. The *Tribune* carried on a fight with the London *Times,* rebel sympathizer, as well as with its Chicago namesake.

Crops in the South looked bad early in June. "Let the blight fall," said the *Tribune.* "We regard it with a good deal of complacency." The meetings of the state Sabbath School Convention were given a two-column spread in the same issue.

A nonpartisan meeting of all opposed to the new constitution was called on June 6 for the following Saturday evening.

The evacuation of Fort Pillow was reported on June 7. "Memphis is ours," said the *Tribune,* running the Stars and Stripes at its masthead again. "This is the flag that now waves in triumph over New Orleans and Memphis and which will shortly be carried in triumph the whole length of the Mississippi."

The Eastern war situation was covered by the Eastern papers chiefly, although the *Tribune's* Washington letter carried strategy and speculation, and reports of the latest moves. Utah applied for statehood. "The poor little waif may be welcomed in," said the *Tribune* on June 11, "to take her chances with our civilization."

McVicker's was crowded nightly to see John Wilkes Booth as Romeo in Shakespeare's play. Cyrus W. Field took up again the project of sinking a cable in the Atlantic. The *Tribune* printed cuts of old and new cable designs. Baltimore and Pittsburgh sent business delegations to visit Chicago.

Five columns, with maps, were printed on the Memphis battle. It was reported that the soldiers were voting against the proposed new constitution. "Go to the polls, ye freemen," said the *Tribune* on June 15. "Vindicate your loyalty and your manhood [by voting against the constitution]."

It was reported on June 18 that the proposed new state constitution had been adopted. "The result is saddening," said the *Tribune,* "as a proof that our people have learned so little from the great rebellion, so little of what pertains to the free-

man's right at the ballot box, so little enlightenment on the great questions of the age. There will be punishment enough for yesterday's business in its appointed time."

In the next day's issue the editors thought better of the people's intelligence however, for " returns give a chance that the infamous swindle is defeated."

By June 1 it looked as if the majority voting against the constitution would be 20,000.

Lincoln signed a bill prohibiting slavery in the territories. " The morning is breaking," said the *Tribune*, " and the long night of the domination of slavery in our national councils has ended."

Now, the *Tribune* advised, let's do something about improving the Chicago River.

McClellan's strategy in the East was criticized. " Patience is the word, patience and a new commander by and by."

The final result of the vote on the constitution showed a majority of 10,000 against it. On June 26 the *Tribune* printed seven columns of the new national tax bill, and on June 28 three columns of the new Pacific Railroad bill. The paper criticized Halleck for " letting 30,000 rebels escape, while he had 130,000 men." Grant was in charge of the second division of the army at Memphis.

The new arsenal which the *Tribune* had sought for Chicago went to Rock Island, it was announced on July 1. A Chicago company was to begin work on the Pacific Railroad. The interest of the West was now fixed on Vicksburg. The *Tribune* explored the possibilities of war with Canada in the event of British intervention.

July 4, of this year 1862, was signalized by the call of Lincoln for 300,000 more men. " For the first time since secession showed its head," said the *Tribune*, in reviewing disasters to the Army of the Potomac, " the Republic is in real danger. The President has appealed to the governors of loyal states. The people will respond promptly and with zeal."

Two pages were given in the July 5 issue to the fighting near Richmond. The Union army had lost 16,000 men in a week.

There was no news from Grant, but it was rumored that Vicksburg had been taken. The *Tribune* considered that as a result of the battles on the eastern peninsula "our army has obtained a superior position and the skies will brighten soon."

Use of Negroes as soldiers was urged by the paper on July 8. "The voice of God in this dire strife of our nation is but the repetition of His ancient command to loose the bonds of the oppressor and to let the oppressed go free. God will care for the rest."

The bombardment of Vicksburg was reported. "The curse of the times," said the *Tribune* on July 10, "the insurmountable obstacle to our arms, the precursor of defeat, is the fact that the partisan journals, the politicians, the members of Congress, the officers of the army, the members of the Cabinet, have each a candidate for the Presidency whose advancement on the road to the White House is nearer to his heart than a victory over the enemy.

"The *Tribune*, working daily for the honor and happiness of the Republic, has no candidate, whether in the Cabinet or in the field, and it will join hands with anybody to kill off any general, secretary, congressman or private person, who gives the presidential maggot such space in his head that all of his brains are not at the service of the country. No president-making now. When the contest is over let the people say who has done his duty best."

The Illinois quota in the new call, 28 regiments, was well under way by July 11. The *Tribune* said there were 700 lodges of the Knights of the Golden Circle in the state, but that Egypt (Southern Illinois) was showing a healthy change of sentiment. The state Agricultural Society held a mowing competition at Dixon. The high schools were conducting graduation exercises, salutatory addresses being given in Latin. The Sen-

ate passed the Rebel Confiscation Bill. " Now let Lincoln issue the proclamation seizing the property and freeing the slaves of the rebels," said the *Tribune*, " and if he wants them a million men will spring to arms to execute it."

A Chicago-made piano was shipped to California.

Correspondent " D " wrote from Corinth, Mississippi, on July 14, that the slaves were working for rebel masters away at war, while United States soldiers were protecting their chattels, pigs and chickens. " The chickens are picking around camp but the women will not sell. If a soldier takes one he will be sent on extra duty or tied by the thumbs to a gun carriage."

" A Republican," said the *Tribune*, " is one who would endow the colored man with freedom rather than debase him to the level of the brute by making him a slave. A doughface is one who would deprive him of his inalienable right of liberty and sink him into chattel property."

Governor Yates issued a new call on July 15 for Illinois troops. The *Tribune* printed the confiscation and emancipation bill as " a milestone of progress." The *New York Commercial Advertiser* came out in favor of accepting help regardless of color. " They are all coming to the side of the *Tribune* — come on."

A war rally was held at Bryan Hall on July 16. A report was printed on Grant's movements near Memphis. " Our great generals," said the *Tribune*, " where are they? Have we armed soldiers of freedom and the Union in any of our armies like Napoleon? Who is he? Of one thing we may feel assured, if there be such a captain among us he will make himself known."

The Confiscation Bill was signed. " Hereafter our commanders may employ rebel slaves in any manner they see fit, seize and use rebel property. We are to use all the means Providence has placed in our hands. We are to punish the rebels and push them to the wall. Now indeed may loyal men thank God and take courage. The end is near."

Chapter Nineteen

DEMANDS MORE VOLUNTEERS

THE *Tribune* used every agency at its command during the late summer of 1862, when the Republic was in peril, to stir the war spirit and fill the ranks of the soldiers for Uncle Abe. A company of soldiers was organized in the *Tribune* office. Medill led in the organization of Union Defense Committees throughout the state. War meetings were held in Chicago to whip up a lagging spirit. The *Tribune* felt that its policies were beginning to be vindicated, although it was said that Chicago was full of secessionist sympathizers and that in some hotels it was unsafe to declare for the Union.

"Let the people rally to fill our skeleton regiments," said the *Tribune* on July 19.

McClellan's peninsula campaign failed of its objective, Richmond, and Halleck was called from the West to take supreme command of the land forces. "He [Halleck] is a closet general," said the *Tribune*, "who in his library will be able to give celerity and potency to military movements which in the field he would be powerless to direct. He will be under the influence of the President who by this time must be thoroughly tired of ditch digging and nigger catching."

A manifesto, signed by more than 200 young men of Chicago, among them Dr. Ray, called for a more energetic war policy. "We believe," it stated, "that the condition of the country calls for greater sacrifice."

Commenting on the arrest of a rebel spy in Chicago, the

Tribune said that the city was full of secessionists – " they are in churches, schools, civic organizations. In some hotels it is fairly unsafe to proclaim one's self an unconditional Union man."

Four columns were printed on July 20 describing war meetings at Bryan and Metropolitan Halls, with 5,000 more persons crowded into Courthouse Square. " It was a night worth living to see. There was a fixed determination that traitors must be rooted out."

A Sunday School excursion to Waukegan was reported.

The Union Defense Committee, of which Medill was one of the prime movers, recommended a tax of $200,000 on the voters of Cook County for soldier bounties and other aid. It was proposed to give $60 to each recruit.

On July 23 the *Tribune* said:

At this time when the direction of public opinion of the country and the army is tending toward the goal at which the *Tribune* long ago arrived, we congratulate our 30,000 subscribers in the Northwest.

When we began to throw bombshells at do-nothing, pro-slavery generals, when we became advocates of Emancipation, compensated in the border states, at the point of the bayonet in all states that had committed treason, etc., we were threatened as no newspaper guileless of purposely outraging public sensibility was ever threatened before.

More than once the plan of getting up a riot which should silence us has been attempted. A simultaneous attack in city and country by politicians, rival newspapers, semi-secessionists, was made upon our circulation. As one of the proprietors of the *Tribune* happened by Lincoln's favor to be made postmaster, a rush was made to upset him and put some less earnest, less patriotic man in his place. Malevolence exhausted itself to do us injury and make our influence in the West less potent than it proved to be.

Lo, what a change. The whole country is at this moment almost abreast of the *Tribune*. Men who 60 days ago opposed " rash measures," etc. are now ready to make affidavit that they were wrong and the well-abused and everywhere read *Chicago Tribune* had,

of all journals in the country, the clearest insight into the nature, duration and cost of the struggle, and the best idea of the policy by which that struggle could be terminated for the glory of the Republic.

We take this occasion to warn those who have been honestly influenced by the clamor that has been raised, that our general fault is to be in advance of public sentiment. We have means of obtaining intelligence from which the public is debarred. We have quick instincts and are not slow in forming accurate judgments of men and things. We have studied the whole question in the light of history and philosophy. Hence it is not wonderful that we should be in advance. We shall be so again. Some fine morning we shall pain our friends and gratify our enemies by an article challenging their criticism, and shocking their preconceived opinions; and another contest and another period of attempted persecution will only bring us out, as now, ahead with banners flying, proving again that in what makes a powerful if not popular journal, The Tribune will remain unsurpassed – the great newspaper and leading organ of opinion in the West.

At a war meeting at the Board of Trade, $11,500 in subscriptions was raised. Recruiting went on. "Once more we appeal to the young men of this city to come forward," said the *Tribune*. "Volunteers must be had or we must submit to the draft."

But the war spirit began to lag and the *Tribune* sought to whip it up again. "Organize, organize," was its chief cry at this time. A great war mass meeting was held in Courthouse Square. This was reported on July 26, with the *Tribune* bringing out the flag again to adorn its first-page story.

"Shall the Republic live or perish?" the *Tribune* asked. "Three hundred thousand more for Uncle Abraham. Uncle Abe is calling us. Come and act for the Union."

Bross was one of the speakers at the meeting. "For no holier cause can every patriot lay down his life than this," he said. "Shall we yield? Never, so long as a patriot heart beats."

"He" [the President,] said the *Tribune* on July 28, "is not afraid *himself* of a radical course, but he fears that the great

body of the loyal men are not ready for it. . . . Were the next news dispatch to be the President's Proclamation of Freedom to every slave who would take up arms against the enemies of Union it would be received with shouts of joy from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains."

On July 29 the *Tribune* printed an official list of "Absentees" from seventeen Illinois regiments, who were notified to return by a certain date or be called deserters. This list consumed a closely set page of type, indicating, by the number of such absentees, the low morale of the troops. The siege of Vicksburg was reported to have been abandoned for the present.

During this summer the *Tribune* editors were looking forward to the elections. This was one of the reasons that led them to urge emancipation and confiscation laws. They wanted to go before the people on this issue, making the Democrats take the side of re-enslavement. They thought this a winning issue. They felt that the President was not aiding as he should by carrying out the first confiscation act, which gave army commanders a free hand in the matter.

Republican voters were asked on August 1 to meet in a Cook County convention on August 12. Medill was one of the signers of this call of the County Central Committee, which stated: "All who are in favor of sustaining the present national administration, and in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, for the defeat of traitors and the extinction of treason, are invited to meet and act with the Republicans."

August 18 was set as a deadline for army absentees.

The *Tribune* suggested that former mayor John Wentworth, whose wealth was estimated at $750,000, "be called on for a subscription to the Chicago War Fund. He is now, we presume, at some watering place, drinking whiskey and talking of his wealth. Two whiskeys to one talk. Why not call on him?"

Five columns were given on August 2 to the war meeting

of the previous Friday. "Ten thousand were there, the bone and sinew of Chicago. There was hearty approval of every sentiment endorsing or advocating the freedom of slaves. Each speaker favored the employment of negroes in suppression of the rebellion. Hereafter, in Chicago, the advocate of human freedom, of right against might, is sure of an enthusiastic welcome at the hands of our citizens."

August 4 was a memorable day in Chicago commerce. A brig arrived from Norway with immigrants and cargo, "foreshadowing direct trade with foreign countries."

The government decided to call 600,000 men into the field in ten days. "The country will hail this new call with joy," said the *Tribune*. "It means that the work of every citizen, from this time until the end of the war, is to save the Republic. The war has begun in earnest. The war must now end within nine months, as the law prescribed that term of service. And it will be done. No more guarding of rebel henroosts, no more running after loyal slaves of traitor masters, but firm, destructive, overwhelming war. . . ."

On August 8 it was announced: "The employees of the *Tribune* have resolved to organize and recruit a company for the war. The muster roll was opened yesterday and had 12 names by sunset. We are now prepared to receive recruits from the city and county. Your country wants you and wants you right away. There is sharp work on hand, vigorous blows to be struck, and the *Tribune* boys are bound to strike them."

Chicago was under martial law for a few hours while escaped prisoners from Camp Douglas were being rounded up.

"Stand by the government," said the *Tribune* on August 12. "It is an hour of peril. It is a storm which is testing every rope and spar and timber of the ship of state. It is through wounds and blood and death that our path lies. Let us hear no more of conciliation and forbearance."

Chapter Twenty

EMANCIPATION

The long-awaited Emancipation Proclamation came in the the fall of 1862. The *Tribune* editors had for months urged Lincoln to this action and criticized the political caution which made him hold back until after the battle of Antietam. Lincoln, they had said, had a chance to write his name in imperishable letters by the side of Washington if he would only make this proclamation.

The paper continued its criticism of army commanders, demanding the removal of those officers whose incapacity had been shown and looking always to the time when the " Great Commander " would be found.

A new Gatling gun was tried out on Michigan Avenue, near Congress Street, on August 13.

On August 16 the Scripps Guard, recruited from the post-office force, was entertained at the John Locke Scripps residence on Wabash Avenue. William Bross addressed them.

Lincoln's famous letter to Horace Greeley was printed on the first page of the *Tribune* on August 24, although Greeley's letter to the President, " the prayer of 20 millions," urging him toward emancipation, was not printed until August 26. The President's reply indicated to the *Tribune* editors merely that Lincoln did not know what to do at the moment and was waiting for a clear policy. They were impatient with him. On August 26 also a complete exposé of the doings of the Knights of the Golden Circle was printed, taken from official sources. " Those who have denied the existence of such an organiza-

tion," said the *Tribune,* "and denounced the *Tribune* for exposing it, are now forever silenced if not convinced."

Three columns told of the arrest of prominent citizens for treason and gave out the secrets of the organization. The sign of the order was to draw the forefinger of the left hand twice across the upper lip as if to smooth the mustache and to give a square handshake with a downward pressure.

On the strategy of the war, the *Tribune* said on August 28 that the greatest of Halleck's achievements was to undo the greatest of McClellan's.

The Washington correspondent reported that the President had been hindered in issuing the Emancipation Proclamation by two Cabinet officers. "We hope it is wrong," said the *Tribune.* "This is no time for trifling and the people are terribly in earnest."

The editors blamed Secretary Seward for this delay. Medill, in a letter to Schuyler Colfax, referred to Seward as "Lincoln's evil genius," and said that he "had kept a sponge saturated with chloroform to Uncle Abe's nose." Seward must be removed, Medill said.

Lincoln just then was waiting for a Union victory to issue the proclamation. The *Tribune* said of him on August 29: "Lincoln possesses many qualifications and characteristics that attach to him the admiration and respect of the people. His unselfishness, his unambitious, unpretentious, undoubted patriotism, his logical ability and his pure character, give him a strong hold on the hearts of the people. Why cannot he rise above the trammels of mere policy — always short sighted and time serving — to a clear comprehension of the requirements of this great emergency? He has it in his power to write his name alongside that of Washington, and all that is necessary is for him to prove himself, as Washington was, adequate to his place and position."

The first report of the second Battle of Bull Run, on August 31, was that it was a "glorious victory." But after three days

of similar rumors it was found that Washington was in danger, and that the rebels were also marching on Cincinnati. "It is amazing," said the *Tribune*, "that such things could take place with a great and unconquerable Western army lying idle in Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi. This is seemingly a dark day [September 3] for the Republic, but it is no time for discouragement or despair. The mighty North has hardly begun to put forth her energies.

"The general we want? He is a great captain who wins battles and he is a small one who loses them. The people have the force but lack only a prompt, bold and strong hand to wield them."

The *Tribune* of this issue also found space for the proceedings of a Pacific Railroad convention in Chicago and reports of a horse fair and trotting matches.

The Republican state convention was called for September 24. There was a new attempt to break down party lines. The convention was open to "all who are ready to support the government."

The Republicans had relaxed since the victory of 1860 and the *Tribune* editors saw danger ahead. Medill, during that summer, began to advocate the right of the soldiers to vote. His campaign did not bear fruit then, but he pressed it and carried it through in 1864, with important results in the reelection of Lincoln. He wrote to the governors of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa during the fall of 1862 urging this step and starting the movement.

The *Tribune* editors, in letters and editorials, were urgent in the matter of emancipation at this time. Church people of all denominations met in Chicago in September, adopted a memorial, and sent a committee to Lincoln. Medill accompanied the delegation. Lincoln apparently did not take the delegation entirely into his confidence, for he told them that while the proclamation was under consideration and was a matter close to his heart, the time had not yet come for action.

As a matter of fact, the proclamation had already been prepared and, on the advice of Cabinet members, Lincoln was waiting for the proper time to make it public. Lincoln was afraid that hasty action would drive border states to the side of the South. The *Tribune* did not support this view. It was for radical action in the confiscation of rebel property and wanted the President and Congress to do something at once.

"I do not talk at random," Medill wrote to Senator Trumbull during this summer. "I meet men daily from this and adjacent states. They all talk one language. The *Tribune* is read by a quarter million men in the West, and it simply indicates as a dial finger the sentiment of the people."

A big war rally was held in Chicago on September 7, addressed by army men. A committee was appointed to urge the governor to get out the entire militia and train them.

The *Tribune* was critical of army commanders at this time. "The crowning error of government," it said on September 11, "is not that it appointed educated military men – West Point graduates – to the command of our armies, but that when these men proved their incapacity, it did not at once remove them. By and by the reform will come and the Great Commander will be found."

Lee was stopped in his invasion of Maryland at this time and the important battle of Antietam brought about a new situation. The war on the Potomac indicated a great victory. "In joyful exuberance of feeling caused by this news last evening the proprietors of the *Tribune* at an early hour illuminated their printing house and accompanied it by a display of fireworks from the roof, rarely equaled in the city, while a band entertained the crowd below with stirring and patriotic airs. The demonstration was perhaps premature, but we cannot help it now. Our army has achieved decided advantages if not a victory and the expense incurred in honor of the brave men in the field will not make us poor or cause a regret. The real victory is to come and come it must."

A battle was impending at Corinth, Mississippi, and Grant was moving. The paper on September 20 issued this warning:

"The danger of wrecking the Republican institutions of this country in a military despotism is as imminent on the heels of a great success as after great disasters. The danger may be far off, but we are mistaken if there is not a well matured design on the part of a powerful and dangerous faction to accomplish a result over which all friends of liberty will mourn."

Perhaps the editors of the paper had wind of McClellan's thought about this time that he might become a dictator if he chose, but he did not choose.

The result of Antietam made the President feel that the time was propitious to issue his first Emancipation Proclamation, which was read to the Cabinet on September 22, 1862. On September 24 the *Tribune* said: "The President has set his hand and affixed the great seal to the grandest proclamation ever issued by man. He has declared after the first day of January next all the slaves in the then rebellious states shall be free. . . . So splendid a vision has hardly shone upon the world since the day of the Messiah. From the date of this proclamation begins the history of this Republic, as our Fathers designed to have it – the home of freedom, the asylum of the oppressed, the seat of justice, the land of equal rights under the law, where each man, however humble, shall be entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Let no one think to stay the glorious reformation. Each day's events are hastening its triumphs, and whosoever shall place himself in its way it will grind to powder."

Chapter Twenty-One

" LET GRANT LOOSE! "

BRACED by the Emancipation Proclamation and the victories of Grant in Mississippi, the *Tribune* demanded greater " Action " against the rebels during the fall and winter of 1862. Its vigorous defense of the Negroes and its attacks on generals who failed, aroused strong feeling against the paper and there was an intimation in October that its friends feared an armed attack upon it. Why the war had to come at all was still a matter of debate, and the Democratic peace group made capital against the " Black Republicans," the radicals led by the *Tribune*. Elections in the nation generally went against the Republicans that fall, but in Chicago the *Tribune's* " holy cause," which was tied up to the local campaign, won a decisive victory.

A " Liberty and Union " mass meeting was held in Chicago on September 27 in commemoration of " the grandest event in modern history," the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation. Four columns were printed on this meeting. " Let no one think to stay the glorious reformation," said the *Tribune*.

On the same day an article was printed on the growth of houses of ill fame and of gambling in Chicago. This issue also carried two columns containing the names of the dead and wounded at the Battle of Iuka, Mississippi.

The *Tribune* suggested that Halleck resign as Western commander and on September 30 printed the following in its editorial column: " Wanted — a Man. An army of 200,000 is idle

in the West. Here are conditions for a great successful campaign to the Gulf. That army wants a leader. . . . Grant today is under the immediate control of Halleck and gets his orders through a captain in St. Louis. We wait impatiently for the march to begin."

By October 1 Illinois had twenty-seven regiments in the field and seventeen more waiting.

" All men who have lately made the journey to Washington return with the conviction that Old Abe is master of the situation," said the *Tribune* on October 1, evidently reflecting Medill's recent trip to the capital. " We reaffirm our determination to stand by the government. The proclamation of the President of September 22 has our hearty approval as we advance toward the overthrow of the rebellion by dealing sternly at once with its cause."

A fuel panic in the city was analyzed by the *Tribune* on October 2 to show that higher prices were unjustified. " Doubtless the *Tribune* will be accused by the coal dealers and their agents of again meddling with somebody else's business. But we cannot help it. We work, not for coal and wood dealers, but for the people, and we expect occasionally to tread on somebody's corns in our pursuit of knowledge valuable to the masses."

Reports from the Cairo correspondent were printed on October 3 and 4, with rumors of preparation for battle. " It was intended," wrote the Cairo reporter, " some days ago to send 500 contrabands [Negroes] to the *Tribune* as a present, but the secesh and war Democrats are taking them so rapidly that your chances will be poor to get them, and now they only propose to send The Deacon [Bross] twenty-five."

The *Tribune* said it could find no better use for its proposed present of 500 " contrabands " than " to locate them where they might demonstrate to the doubters in Negro humanity, that, chattels as they were, a Negro owning himself and his children is of more and better service to the state than

the same colored person, bought, sold and driven to his unwilling task."

A report of the Battle of Corinth was printed on October 6, with a sketch of the battlefield. " There is a moral in this victory following so closely the late triumph at Iuka. It is that the Western troops can drive the enemy on every field, when they have a fighting general at their head. The unbroken succession of victories in Gen. Grant's department is not the result of accident. All that is needed to drive the rebels into the Gulf is a commander who says ' Go Forward ' instead of saying ' Go Back ' — one who studies useful advances rather than brilliant retreats."

Attention was called to " a Tory editor of this city who has served Jeff Davis long enough."

Reaction in the South to the Emancipation Proclamation was printed. Its effect there was to spur the friends of slavery and make them anxious to win the war. Eighty-four days remained for the Proclamation to go into effect.

The *Tribune* continued its war with the fuel dealers and fought for honest weights.

A report on October 8 of the Corinth battle contained a two-column list of dead and wounded, including the name of General Richard J. Oglesby, who was wounded.

" We move that Grant be let loose," said the *Tribune*. " He can take Chattanooga in a month and before the winter rains set in will be well on his way to the Gulf."

The *Tribune* and the *Times* were disputing about this time as to what caused the war. The *Times* blamed the Republicans " for all this blood and enormous debt." " The simple fact," said the *Tribune*, " is that the Democratic party in the South precipitated the war."

It was reported on October 10 that Oglesby would recover. He lived to become governor of Illinois.

The war opposition press was arguing that the President's Proclamation, which was intended to influence the political

as well as the military situation, was unconstitutional.

On October 15 the *Tribune* offered one thousand dollars in gold "to any Tory who puts his finger on a section of the Constitution that forbids the President's proclamation as commander in chief." It was in the President's capacity of commander in chief that the *Tribune*, as well as all of Lincoln's friends, found full authority for all his acts during the war, such as the suspension of habeas corpus, and the suppression of certain newspapers. The *Tribune* complained that he did not go far enough in dealing with traitors, particularly with Chicago papers and with such men as Vallandigham of Ohio.

In an editorial on October 15 the *Tribune* said of the President: "It is with patriotic pride, with heartfelt satisfaction, that we can now, with deeper impressiveness than ever before, say to the public that whatever may be the faults and deficiencies of our President, in the sum and completeness of his character, his fitness for his position, his present stand before the bar of the civilized world, and the promise of the fame that he will leave behind him at the last, he is more nearly what a great and noble people desire to have in a chief magistrate than anyone who has filled the executive seat since the first president, or, that we have any hope or expectation, could be found though the whole twenty millions of loyal people in our country had for that purpose been winnowed."

The disappointing Congressional election returns in Ohio and Indiana meant to the *Tribune* that "the Republicans have gone to war and their old opponents stayed at home to vote. Let the soldiers vote and the returns will be changed."

The Illinois fall campaign began with a Bryan Hall mass meeting at which Senator Trumbull was the speaker. Iowa gave comfort by sending five Union Congressmen to Washington.

An appeal to "the Old Guard" was made by the *Tribune* on October 21. "If you love the land of your birth, the memory of your fathers, the heritage of free institutions, give your

time and your strength to the work of saving the next Congress from the hands of the Tories."

A Union rally was held in Chicago for Parson Brownlow, the fiery Knoxville editor. The *Tribune* printed documents on October 25 to show that the Knights of the Golden Circle threatened civil war in Illinois if they did not carry the fall elections.

General Don Carlos Buell, who had been chasing the Confederates across Tennessee and who had been accused of slowness, was removed, and General Rosecrans was given his command. This was treated as " grand and glorious news " by the *Tribune*. " The men who have spent the summer in growling at the assumed impatience and radicalism of the *Tribune* — at its quarrels with the inaction of generals and with the tardiness of all our military operations — will now be convinced that we, not they, were right. We, in close communication with Washington, with trusted officers of the army and with most of the leading publicists of the day, know that whereof we have constantly affirmed; while our censors, taking popular clamor for evidences of facts which were lying behind, have constantly gone astray. We have been right; they have been wrong."

The Republican Union State Central Committee, of which Horace White was secretary, appealed to the people to send loyal men to Congress. " Let there be no faltering now," it was stated on October 28. " This is the last effort of Democrat leaders to save slavery for future wars. Let them be beaten now and they will be beaten forever. The country and our holy cause demand that every man do his duty."

Mayor Sherman, builder of the Sherman House, who opposed Isaac N. Arnold for Congress, was attacked by the *Tribune* as a " senile tool of the Tory Democrats." " Who votes for Sherman? Every disloyal man."

" Citizens," said the *Tribune* on November 4. " Vote today to show your hearts are with the soldiers now on the march."

"A glorious victory for freedom and the Union" was announced on November 5. "Chicago has redeemed herself and proudly takes her stand among the loyal states."

Although the returns from the state showed a general falling off from the Lincoln majorities of 1860, the defeat of Sherman for Congress was decisive. The lesson of the election was summed up by the *Tribune* in one word — "Action." "The Republicans have carried on the war for 20 months allowing their enemies to manage it, and the proper fruits are now before us. All the success in our state is due to the removal of Gen. Buell and the Emancipation Proclamation. The People demand action."

Elections in the nation generally went against the Republicans, it was stated on November 8. "Could it have been otherwise in the face of the monstrous mismanagement of the war? There remains but one hope, one last chance for the preservation of the Union. Let the President in obedience to a vote of want of confidence, remove every do-nothing general and purge the army. Let him reconstruct his Cabinet and cast out those who have whispered cowardly counsels, then give the word of advance to his million soldiers and 500 vessels of war."

Grant was at Holly Springs, Mississippi, where the *Tribune* kept watch on him. McClellan was removed from command of the Army of the Potomac. "He should have been dismissed the day after Antietam," said the *Tribune* on November 9, "for failing to pursue and rout the rebel army. There is a limit to Lincoln's matchless patience."

A report of popular disturbances growing out of the McClellan dismissal was found untrue on November 12. "During the forenoon," said the *Tribune*, "our office was visited by at least a hundred excited friends who feared that if such was the temper of the popular mind the *Chicago Tribune* might be in danger."

The attempt of the opposition to stir up a popular clamor

on this issue was denounced as "a vain effort." "Knaves, you play with edged tools," said the *Tribune*.

The paper's correspondent with Grant announced the capture of Holly Springs on November 14. On November 16 it was stated that there had been no issue of the paper on the preceding Saturday because the power press had broken down.

A rise of paper cost and other expenses led the *Tribune*, as well as the *Times* and the *Journal*, to raise its subscription rates to $10 a year at this time.

A wonderful increase in the Chicago provision trade was reported on November 22. Chicago was beating Cincinnati in the hog trade.

"Save the Republic," was the often printed slogan of the *Tribune* at this period. On November 25 it said: "We are glad to chronicle the fact that Grant has been let loose. Hitherto under the leading strings of Halleck he has now been given large discretionary power. We are sure he will use it wisely. He is looking for the enemy and when he finds him there will be bloodshed."

Thanksgiving brought "unmistakable evidence of prosperity here." The *Tribune* observed: "The people, we hope, will see in the continuance of the contest an expression of the will of Heaven itself." Five columns were given to the church services held on that day.

A paragraph from Lincoln's message was carried at the editorial masthead on December 1 and continued for several days: "In giving freedom to the slave, we ensure freedom to the free, honorable alike in what we give and what we receive. We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope of earth. Other means may succeed; this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just, a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud and God must forever bless."

A brief editorial summary of news was given on the first column of page 1 during the war period and in the next columns all the telegraph news appeared under one heading. This

makeup was followed for several years. The more extended editorial treatment of the news came on the second page. Once embarked upon an editorial campaign, such as those for emancipation, soldiers' votes, or the removal of inactive generals, the *Tribune* never let up, but pounded away day after day in editorial columns, usually backed up by editorial treatment of the same subject from the Washington and often other correspondents.

Lincoln's plan for compensated emancipation of slaves was called a great state paper, a kindly plan. "History will award to President Lincoln and to the people who sustained him, the place of grandeur among their contemporaries, and America will rise, disencumbered of the moral and material blight of slavery, to such greatness and renown as the world has never yet beheld."

Two and a half columns were given on December 3 to the farmers' convention at Dixon. For three years the *Tribune* had been interested in the manufacture of sorghum molasses in the Northwest. Reporters had been sent to conventions and to establishments where the syrup was made. "We have spent much money and given much space to this," said the *Tribune* on December 7. "It now seems to be an assured success. Go ahead and the great corn regions of the Northwest will be independent of sugar and syrup from the rest of the world."

A new type face from the Chicago Type Foundry appeared on December 8. "For the new type," said the *Tribune*, "whose clearness our readers will recognize as an improvement on our pages today, a future waits big with events. Well might a seer shrink from turning its pages. For this better era let every patriot labor and every Christian pray."

A reporter from the *Tribune* revealed on December 9 that just before General Ambrose E. Burnside's expedition left for Roanoke Island it was found that cartridges furnished the expedition were without powder. This was called treason in the workshops.

The Washington correspondent said on December 13 that there had been some fear that the President was getting " weak-kneed on Emancipation," but that in his recent talks with religious groups he had stood firm.

A change in the old Puritan standards for Chicago was reflected on Sunday, December 14, when the *Tribune* printed a sporting story on page 1, reporting the fight in England between Jem Mace and Tom King for the heavyweight championship of the world.

The population of Chicago was reported on December 17 as 133,768. The *Tribune's* comment on the future growth of the city ended: " As God lives, the salvation of this Republic is in the extinction of slavery."

A convention of sewing-machine agents was given a two-column spread. Artemus Ward, who lectured at Bryan Hall, was given a column.

Horace White, back in Washington, wrote on December 22 of the failures of Halleck and the coming of emancipation.

" Open the Mississippi," said the *Tribune* on December 23. " What keeps it closed? There is an expedition slowly collecting for the capture of Vicksburg, but unless the blighting finger of Halleck is withdrawn it will come to naught like everything else he touches."

New advertisements were called to the readers' attention on December 24, and there was a four-column article on the sewing-machine industry.

" Attend to the wants of the Sanitary Commission," the *Tribune* urged on December 27, promising that even the smallest shred of linen would be forwarded for the relief work.

As the year closed, the star of hope to the *Tribune* was the forthcoming proclamation promised by the President, implementing the proclamation of September 22. The September document promised to set the slaves of rebel states free. The January proclamation was to designate the specific territory in which slavery was to end. There had been great pressure

brought to bear on Lincoln to make him change his course. The *Tribune* insisted that he would hold to it. A Kentucky delegation went to Washington and sent back word that the President was immovable on emancipation. The *Tribune* said on December 29: " Thank God and wait three days." And on this note the year ended, a year of glory, doubt, and gloom for the paper.

Chapter Twenty-Two

NEWS GOOD AND BAD

Words " worthy to be printed in letters of gold," and words " weighted with death," filled the first pages of the paper in the new year, 1863, as the scroll of fate unrolled. The golden words were those of the new Proclamation, freeing 3,120,000 slaves in ten states. The black-bordered words were the lists of dead at the three-day battle around Murfreesboro, Tennessee, a quiet meadow and forest land that became an inferno of battle early in January.

Impeachment of the President as a " tyrant " and " usurper " was proposed at Springfield, where the *Tribune* wrestled with a Copperhead legislature. Union defense organizations or leagues were formed throughout the state, Medill taking a leading part in this work. There was talk of civil war in Illinois, and this, the paper demanded, must be met by the home guard, the " Old Guard," faithful to Lincoln and the government.

It was on January 1, 1863, that the *Tribune* printed the President's Proclamation of September 22 under the heading,

"What the President Promised." Commenting on the record of the rebellion during the last year, the *Tribune* found "a feeling of general disappointment among those whose hearts were with the Union in that not more had been accomplished and a feeling of anxiety for the future of the imperiled country.

"The New Year is begun under brighter and better auspices, when the Proclamation shall call to the aid of the government 400,000 eager freedmen, to be henceforth men and no more slaves. Only in this promise can we wish our friends a Happy New Year."

Chapters from the Book of Exodus were quoted under the caption "Let My People Go." The Board of Trade was commended on its "loyal action" in denouncing the *Chicago Times*.

On January 3 the "Flag of the Free" flew again on page 1, with the news of the great Proclamation. This was a "New Year's Gift to humanity – a nation born in a day."

"We have the Proclamation," said the *Tribune*, "a late but grateful recognition of the finger of God in the affairs of nations as of individual men. There need be no fears as a result of what Mr. Lincoln has done. . . . From this day the nation is wedded to freedom and a purer and better democracy. . . . If we never feared it is because we have profound faith in the logic of events and because with no mean prescience we knew that the day would surely come in which the wisdom and necessity of our course would be vindicated in a way to clear up and remove all questions of patriotism and right."

The same issue carried the news of the terrible struggle at Stone River between Bragg and Rosecrans, and Grant was reported "going ahead again." On January 5 an open letter to Thaddeus Stevens was printed in which the editors of the *Tribune* asked: "Why is it that corporations called banks escape Federal taxation? We ask you, where is the justice of grinding a newspaper in this style for the support of the gov-

ernment and letting the debt factories called banks go scot free? "

Ten columns of Governor Yates' message were printed on January 6, in which he said, " I believe this infernal rebellion can be, ought to be and will be subdued."

The Democrats were in rebellion in Springfield. There was talk of creating a Western republic and of hanging all the abolitionists. Speaking of the threatened revolution, the *Tribune* said: " They will wait long before shedding blood in Chicago streets. It is a question of whose blood."

Four columns of description of the Stone River battle were given on January 8, " from our own reporter." The *Tribune* said the story was sent by telegraph from Cincinnati and was the longest dispatch ever sent in the Northwest. On January 12 the *Tribune* feared that Grant would have to fall back from his advanced position in Mississippi and get to a Northern base. Reporter " B " was with Grant.

Traction news began to get some attention at this time. The Chicago City Railway Company had thirty cars on Randolph, Madison, and State Streets and carried 15,000 passengers a day.

A new charter divided the city into sixteen wards instead of ten, with two aldermen elected from each ward.

On January 17 the *Tribune* suggested a plan to end the rebellion: Carry out the Emancipation Proclamation with the full power of the government and call on all freedmen as a part of the militia to defend themselves: Grant 160 acres of land to every white soldier, 320 acres to commissioned officers below the rank of Colonel, and 640 acres to officers of and above the rank of Colonel; these land warrants to be laid on confiscated rebel property and chosen by the holder.

An editorial noted on January 20 that a Boston paper was printing on paper made of wood pulp and suggested that something else besides rags might be used in time. This comment forecast a revolutionary change in newsprint methods.

The Democratic side of the House in Springfield was ready

for revolution. An Illinois regiment made up of "Egyptians" mutinied and threw away its arms. Loyal soldiers rounded them up and sent them to prison. New rebel terms of peace were proposed. Bills were introduced to take military power from the hands of the governor. "Remember, Copperheads," said the *Tribune*. "You hold office by false pretense and at the hands of a minority of the people."

Six closely set columns listing the dead and wounded at Murfreesboro's three days of battle were printed on January 23, "words weighted with death."

Wiser Democrats in Springfield were putting down the rebellion talk, it was reported on January 24. Grant was moving on Vicksburg. The *Tribune* called again for Halleck's removal. "Old Brains is a good soubriquet, but Young Victory would meet the national want far better. Why not put a man in place of Old Brains? The capture of Vicksburg is of vital importance. Will our rulers at Washington comprehend and have enterprise to secure the great prize? We must have men ready to fight and die for an idea."

In comment on the replacement of Burnside by "Fighting Joe" Hooker on January 27 the *Tribune* said: "We long ago learned that men in this war are not to be estimated by their pretensions, nor by the partial reports of friends. The gauge of merit is Doing."

Impeachment of the President was proposed at Springfield. "Abraham Lincoln an usurper? Abraham Lincoln the tyrant whose hand is destroying the liberties of this country? Abraham Lincoln, himself a creation of our institutions, the enemy of popular liberty? You lie, you scoundrels, you know you lie," thundered the *Tribune*.

Thirty-eight hundred rebel prisoners were at Camp Douglas on February 1. The *Tribune* correspondent on the United States hospital boat *Red Rover*, off the mouth of the Yazoo River, reported in a dispatch dated January 25 that Grant had arrived in person to take charge of the siege of Vicksburg.

General John A. Logan with Grant's army sent this word up North: " Tell them we can whip the rebels. We are going to do it and when we are done we will return home. When we get there we shall yet be strong enough to summarily punish any secession sympathizers or peace preachers that we may be able to find in our way."

Union organizations at home were wanted, the *Tribune* said on February 4. " A Union Club or League ought to be formed in every town in the state and placed in communication with a state central club or committee of public safety. The efforts of the Copperheads to make peace over the ruins of the Republic may cause civil war in our midst. Some clubs were formed in the state last fall, called Union Leagues. We urge the necessity of some efficient system of organization."

This was an effort to which Medill gave personal attention during the next few months. He also kept pressing for the right of the soldiers to vote, urging that petitions from the people be sent to Washington. A peace convention to be held at Louisville was recommended by the Committee on Confederate Relations of the state legislature.

On February 6 the *Tribune* printed this item: " Dick Merrick, a very squirty little lawyer of this city, whose want of horse sense is only excelled by his want of business, makes a treasonable or semi-treasonable speech, calculated to discourage loyal men and quicken the enemy to new endeavor."

It slashed at the " Jeff Davis organ in this city " (the *Chicago Times*) and referred to the London *Times* as " the lying *Times*, with money its God."

The Copperhead majority at Springfield was held at bay by " no-quorum " tactics during the early part of the month, but on February 13 it was reported that a peace and armistice resolution had been passed in the House by a vote of 52 to 28.

The marriage of Tom Thumb and Lavinia Warren was given a page-1 notice of a column length on February 13. On

the next day the correspondent with Grant's army reported that he was in sight of Vicksburg, which was ablaze. "Never give up the Republic," said the *Tribune*. "God will yet raise up leaders for us. Let us trust in God and keep our powder dry and all will yet be well."

Chapter Twenty-Three

THE INVISIBLE REPORTER

THE SPRING months of 1863 found Grant lost, somewhere in the swamps of Mississippi, and hope rising and falling as various rumors of the siege of Vicksburg came in. The *Tribune* felt that this siege would be successful in the end, otherwise the war was a failure. It required a lot of waiting, however, and a lot of flag waving to keep hearts high at home, where another enemy was found in "Copperhead treason," in "peace" talk, and in the activities of the Knights of the Golden Circle. Medill became president of the Union Leagues of Home Defense. The paper advocated a hospital for drunkards as one of the great needs for Chicago.

"Drunkenness," it was stated on February 15, "is a disease, the most malignant of all fevers, and should be treated as such." This was a forerunner of later action by the *Tribune* in this field. In 1891 Medill gave enthusiastic backing to the Keeley Institute for drunkards at Dwight, Illinois.

The Illinois legislature adjourned on February 15, with Governor Yates and the Union members victorious over the Copperheads. The *Tribune* said that a great danger had been

averted and that Union victories were hoped for by June. A new law against libellers was called for to hit "Copperhead speakers and organs."

Illinois coal mine operators, it was reported on February 20, had met and decided to fight the secret society of workers, "which seeks to control wages and the amount of coal to be produced daily. They will deal hereafter only with individual workers." The *Tribune* printed this resolution without comment.

Rumors had Grant capturing Vicksburg on February 21. "Our own news warrants no such belief. Indeed it is impossible."

The paper's correspondents on all fronts sent in stories of soldier reaction against "peace and Copperhead treason" at home. A map and explanatory story of the Mississippi River operations were printed on February 27.

The Conscription Bill, with its provision that a drafted man might pay a substitute $300 or more, was passed by Congress early in March and caused much debate. The *Tribune* supported it at first, but later found that it did not work well. Five hundred Union League clubs were formed in the state. Union meetings were held during the month, while news was awaited of Grant's action around Vicksburg. The *Tribune*, on March 20, explained the immense difficulties of this siege, concluding that it would be successful.

"There is no doubt," the paper said on March 29, "that the Copperheads in Illinois and Indiana, particularly the southern portions, are arming. The war will go on. Conscription will be enforced. Taxes will be paid and the Copperheads will be subdued. The Union will be preserved. Men of industry, men of property, it is time that you should enter the arena. The danger is imminent and your services, your money, your cool advice and wise counsels are needed. The enemy is at your doors."

The entire fourth floor of the Dickey Block, opposite the

Tremont House, was made the headquarters of the Union Club, with the dedication taking place on March 28. Three and a half columns were given to the marriage of the Prince of Wales and the Princess Alexandra on March 30. There was also a column of spring fashions.

The opening of the inland route to Lake Superior via the Chicago and North Western to Green Bay was announced on April 1. A diagram and story gave the advantages of this route and the future possibilities of iron manufacture in Chicago. The *Tribune* recalled that the delegates from this region who had come to the convention that nominated Lincoln had travelled on foot and on horses, crossing rivers on improvised rafts.

The progress of art, the invention of a new cook stove, the arrest of Brigham Young for polygamy, occupied attention in the paper during the first few days of April. Chicago was to have a nineteen-inch refractor telescope.

Loyal men of Chicago were called to a meeting at Bryan Hall on April 9 " to form a Union League for the support of the government and to reprove Mayor Sherman for withholding official sanction of the meeting." This organization is still active as the Union League club on Chicago's Jackson Boulevard.

The prospect of a triumph at Vicksburg just now grew fainter. " Most of the plans have failed," said the *Tribune* on April 8. " We hope on, knowing that in the end Vicksburg will surely fall. To think anything else is to make the war fruitless and the government must give up in disgrace."

" The report of a Congressional committee on the conduct of the war vindicates the judgment of Lincoln as against that of McClellan and others who failed to prosecute the war as he wished, and quickly," said the *Tribune*.

The war meeting of April 9 was called a huge success. Senator Trumbull, John Wentworth, and others spoke. " The temper of it was that the war must be carried on and won. It was

a rebuke to the mayor. How does the mayor of Chicago like this veto the people have put upon him? " [At the behest of the *Times* the mayor had vetoed a council resolution endorsing the meeting.]

The trial of the Reverend E. W. Hager before an ecclesiastical court at Joliet occupied news attention. It concerned the pastor's relations with various women and was expected to be a sensational affair. Reporters, however, were ordered out of the court by the presiding bishop and the enterprise of the *Tribune* in this field was shown on April 12, when reports of the trial began to appear, signed by " Invisible." The detailed testimony of the " clerical imbroglio " appeared daily and called forth an editorial on April 18 on " The Great Mystery." " The editors have no knowledge of the manner in which their reporters at the Holy Inquisition at Joliet get the testimony of witnesses. The boys are under a pledge of secrecy and will not tell us."

It was not until a month later that the mystery was explained as will be revealed later in the chapter.

The *Tribune* supported Thomas B. Bryan for mayor. On election day, April 21, two flags appeared in the paper. " Choose ye this day whom ye will serve," said the *Tribune* on page 1. " In one we have the grand old flag carried by our armies in the field, which has floated over all our battles and will be the sign of victory today. The ticket it heads is that which pledges support to the government, the war and the restoration of the national domain. The other emblem is the old original Copperhead on his parent tree."

Around the snake tree flag was written " Southern rights at all hazards." " Let the Union League boys remember today," said the *Tribune*. " The Knights of the Golden Circle will be as busy as Old Nick in a gale of wind."

It was charged that Mayor Sherman, up for re-election, had released Bridewell inmates to vote for him.

On April 22 it was announced: " F. C. Sherman, Copper-

head, is elected mayor by a small majority. We make no attempt to conceal our disappointment and mortification. A bad day's work has been done. The city is dishonored."

The only ray of light was that the mayor's majority had been cut from 1,100 to 150.

There was delay in the draft. "What malign influence holds back the War Department from acting with celerity in this emergency?" asked the *Tribune* on May 2. Of its own service it said: "No paper in the United States, East or West, excels the *Tribune* in special dispatches and correspondence from the armies. We have able and truthful writers engaged to follow almost every army corps. The people look for information relayed by loyal writers. What we furnish them is not tinged with Copperheadism and strained through a secesh skimmer."

"Fighting Joe" Hooker had to retreat with the Army of the Potomac at Chancellorsville, and Grant was blocked in Mississippi.

"Up, hearts!" said the *Tribune* on May 8. "There is no good in despondency. Whoso falters now is not only a traitor but a coward."

"Never give up. We see the Divine finger in all," it said the next day. It was feared that Grant was outnumbered and destroyed in far southern Mississippi.

Of the death of Stonewall Jackson the *Tribune* said on May 16: "He prostituted his talents and the acquirements his country had bestowed on him to compass the ruin of the best government the world has known."

A little excursion to Freeport was reported as a contrast to city life. "It was refreshing to us who for years have been begrimed with city dust and smoke and grown calloused, to see the primeval forests and waving savannahs at Freeport and along the way. The men were strong, stout, brawny-handed, bronze-faced, fresh from the mould and speaking eloquently of labor and rural independence. The ladies breathed the coun-

try at every step and contrasted finely with our pale, languid belles."

The mysterious reporting at the Joliet church trial was explained on May 17, when the Reverend Mr. Hager was found not guilty of "scandalous, immoral and disorderly conduct." The room beneath the inquisition chamber in the City Hall, it was explained, contained fire apparatus and an old engine named "Eagle." Two enterprising *Tribune* reporters introduced a large section of hose in the chimney flue, which connected with the sheet iron stove in the trial room. Through this pipe they were able to hear every word that was said. Two reporters took hourly turns at taking down the testimony. They got it verbatim and thus it was printed.

Halleck had failed and "poor old Greeley is almost as fiercely rampant as a belligerent rabbit," the *Tribune* said on May 18. A story was printed of life among the Mormon "saints." On the President as a general the paper said on May 23:

> Of all the men in and about Washington Abraham Lincoln is the man best fitted to take command of the army in the vicinity of that city; because he has a nicer, more comprehensive and accurate idea of the difficulties to be overcome and the value of the material at his disposal than any of his advisers, civil or military.
>
> Our only apprehension would be that, just at the moment of victory, his kindness of heart would impel him to call a halt, lest the enemy should get hurt; but this risk must be assumed, and in spite of it we propose that Old Abe take the reins into his own hands; and being in himself President, General in Chief and Secretary of War, lead our armies to victory. We sincerely believe that he can do it. If he does not, who will?

"Vicksburg is nearly ours," it was reported on May 24. The next day this statement was modified to "probably ours" and a map and details of the 20-day siege were printed. The dispatches were delayed and confusing and it became evident by May 27 that Vicksburg was "not yet ours."

Chapter Twenty-Four

CHICAGO TIMES SUPPRESSED

THE MONTH of June, 1863, was a turbulent time in newspaper history in Chicago. It was marked by the suppression of the *Times* by the army, the revocation of the order by Lincoln, and great indignation in the *Tribune* office, which was posted one night with armed men waiting for an attack which never came. A notable editorial on " The Future " was printed. The *Tribune* editors were still of the firm opinion that " God governs the affairs of men." His was an authority that could not be denied. A conscript army was called for, and the *Tribune* called upon the people to sustain the President. Vicksburg was still in doubt and the *Tribune* said that the gravest hour of the war was at hand.

Concerning General John A. Logan, the paper said on May 27: " We were never on friendly relations politically, but we now let bygones be bygones. He is courageous, skillful, full of pluck. We echo the opinion of his superior [Grant] that he is a whole division in himself."

The newspaper war flamed out on June 1 when General Burnside, from his headquarters in Cincinnati, ordered Wilbur F. Storey's *Chicago Times* suppressed. Burnside had issued General Order 38 under which he said disloyal action would not be permitted in his department. He had arrested the leader of the Copperheads, Vallandigham, who was subsequently sent over to the rebel lines, escaped to Canada, and led his opposition from there.

Soldiers from Camp Douglas left their job of guarding Con-

federate prisoners and marched downtown to close the *Times* plant at midnight. Crowds gathered in Courthouse Square and Copperhead speeches were made. Threats were made that they would sack and burn the *Tribune* in retaliation.

" Burnside strikes at the root of secession evil," said the *Tribune* of this action, but questioned whether it was a timely proceeding, whether it was not too late, as " the dragon's teeth have been sowed. We would not needlessly add to the causes that may deluge these streets with blood."

In speaking of the crowd demonstration in behalf of the *Times*, the *Tribune* said: " Half of them were Republicans who, under the pretense of defending free speech, assailed the government. Let us hope that in future gatherings Union men will not give dignity to the proceedings. A few unhung villains, the refuse and offscourings of the Copperhead party, endeavored to make a demonstration against the government on account of the suppression of the *Times* and against the *Tribune* as the representative and mouthpiece of the popular and loyal sentiment of the Northwest. At an early hour in the morning a handbill called on the friends of free speech to meet in front of the *Times*, and there were open threats that the result would be the quick destruction of our building, and that other loyal journals would be silenced. Emissaries of the *Times* and the Knights of the Golden Circle were sent abroad to stir up violence and a second handbill inviting bloodshed was circulated. Fortunately the vagrants were disappointed of their prey. We owe no thanks to them but to the treasonable men of the party of which these poor fools are the tag end."

The *Tribune*, taken to task by the *Journal* for criticizing Grant's moves about Vicksburg, replied: " We said we had little faith in the numerous canals the army was digging and did not think Vicksburg could be taken before the sickly season set in, by such inundations and cutoffs. We said Vicksburg could only be taken by hard fighting and throwing an army in the rear. When we heard that Porter's fleet had run the

batteries and Grant was moving for a march to Vicksburg from the rear, our faith rose. We are for the general that wins. That's our platform."

Announcement of Lincoln's revocation of the Burnside order against the *Times* was given on June 5. " That action was as unexpected as the action of Burnside," said the *Tribune*. " Yesterday, before the revocation was announced, a clear majority of citizens were in favor of the order and resolved it should be enforced against any mob opposition. The revocation is felt to be a most unfortunate blunder. As the matter stands it is a triumph of treason."

It developed that a meeting of citizens, including many friends of the *Tribune*, such as Senator Trumbull and W. B. Ogden, leading industrialist, had met, with Mayor Sherman in the chair, and had sent a petition to the President asking him to rescind the order.

In an editorial in reply to a story in the *New York World*, which had stated that this meeting had been inspired by those who were interested in the *Tribune* and who feared its destruction by popular violence, the *Tribune* said on June 6: " This is a point blank fabrication. No living human being that owns a dime's interest in the *Tribune* had anything to do with the meeting or knew that such a dispatch was prepared until after it was sent. Nor do we believe that any person that signed the dispatch feared the destruction of the *Tribune* by popular [Copperhead] violence. Our proprietors and friends felt perfectly confident of their entire ability to expel any number of Copperheads that might attempt its destruction. They would have taught the villains a lesson which the survivors would not have forgotten till the day of their own deaths."

In an editorial on " The Future " the *Tribune* said on June 6, 1863:

> There can be no doubt that the election of Mr. Lincoln was a providential dispensation, designed for the purification and preservation of this nation — to purify it from slavery by the mad rebel-

lion of its supporters and to preserve its liberty from the oligarchy that had plotted its ruin. We are convinced that history will thus write the results of the momentous years in which he has occupied and will occupy the presidential chair.

But the time for mere compromise candidates has passed. Negative qualities will not ensure the election of any man to the highest office of the nation during the lifetime of the present generation. Better a thousandfold, in such times as these an occasional exercise of arbitrary power, if directed to the preservation of the Constitution and the enforcement of laws, than a timid, vacillating policy — one that permanently or for the moment destroys the confidence of all loyal, honest men in the wisdom and energy of the government. They want a man with Hickory nerves — like Jackson. Ben Butler is the best living type and is now first in the hearts of the loyal masses of the Union. . . . God governs the affairs of men and to His discipline let us cheerfully submit for the present, trusting to His wisdom and direction for the future safety of the nation.

On June 7 the *Tribune* said that the blame for the revocation of the order that had closed the *Times* office was not on the President.

He probably had not seen the *Times* and rarely reads any newspaper. On Thursday night, when all prudent men knew that serious trouble was expected, our business offices were protected against rebel bullets by a proper barricade and for the very reason that the vagabonds knew there were plenty of brave hearts behind them, with the best of tools to defend them, the baser sort kept at a respectful distance.

We are peaceable men; we are opposed to all mobs, or the secesh concern would long since have come to grief, for again and again have we saved it from being destroyed by assuring loyal but indiscreet citizens that the constituted authorities should correct all the abuses of which it is guilty. Now that it again has free license to belch its treason, we give the same counsel, but let its dupes remember that when they see fit to attack our office they will find the *Tribune* fully prepared to welcome them with sharp sounds and sudden illuminations. We know no fear.

Governor Yates dismissed the legislature on June 11 until January, 1865. The Democrats had refused to pass any meas-

ures of help to the nation and the army. The *Tribune* congratulated the governor and called the legislature a mob. A ratification meeting for the governor's action was held in Chicago.

The fate of Vicksburg was still doubtful in middle June and the President called for 100,000 more men. The enlistment system was all wrong. The *Tribune* said on June 25: " If there be one thing more certain and absolute than another in history, it is the fact that human events are controlled by an irresistible, Divine power, which underlies all obstructions and hindrances to the liberty and progress of mankind. There can be no denying of the wisdom or authority of this invisible, Divine government. It is useless to fight against it, as the rebels will find in the long run. In the meantime we must put our own shoulders to the wheel or Jupiter will be a long time coming out of the cloud to help us. Let us have a conscripted army. We have three millions yet to draw from and with these and the forces of destiny, there will soon be an end to the war."

Lee was in Maryland and Washington was threatened. " The gravest hour of the war is upon us," said the *Tribune* on June 26.

A draft riot occurred in Chicago and one man was killed. The *Tribune* blamed " the *Times* treason " for inciting it.

General George Gordon Meade succeeded Hooker in command of the Army of the Potomac. " The *Tribune* has not, and has never had, a pet military candidate," said the paper on June 30. " It has made its only beau ideal the man who will strike telling and crushing blows upon the enemy. The army and the people will be with Meade if he is the right leader. No political junta can make him a presidential candidate, by the circumstances of his birth."

The *Tribune* called on the people to " strengthen and sustain the President. This means new care and trouble for him. Nothing should shake our confidence in the President."

Hooker had gone into the category of McClellan and Burn-

side, the paper said, because he had permitted Lee to half circle the Federal army without interruption.

Material progress was noted that summer by Medill despite the war.

Carl Sandburg writes in his *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years* (Vol. 2, pages 190–1): " The future was to be written in big numbers, bulking billions rather than merely millions. Editor Joseph Medill of the *Chicago Tribune* wrote to his brother William, who died of battle wounds a few weeks later, in the summer of '63: ' There is a great, grand and glorious future to our country when the slaveholders' hellish revolt is crushed out; there will never be another rebellion. Emigration from Europe is already pouring into New York at the rate of 1,000 a day, which will fill up the gap made by the war in our labor population.' He could see 500,000 emigrants a year entering Northern ports after the war with the South. Then two other wars loomed, ' one to clear the British out of Canada and the other to clear the French out of Mexico.'

" Medill was decisive: ' This continent belongs to the Free American race and they are bound to have it – every inch of it, including the West Indian Islands. We have got a taste of blood and learned the art of war and our own tremendous strength and exhaustless resources. . . . The insults received from England must be wiped out, and the only reparation she can give us is to vacate North America. Peaceably if she will – forcibly if we must. As to France, we claim the right to turn her up on Uncle Sam's knee and spank her bottom for not behaving herself. . . . Our people are learning sense. The war has pounded new ideas into their heads and prejudices out. It is a great teacher, and great progress is never made by a people except through war. The tree of Liberty must be watered by blood of patriots at least once in every three generations.' "

Two months earlier he had written " that ' an awful responsibility ' rested on the Republican party. ' If it fails all is lost. Hence we sustain Chase and his National Bank scheme, Stan-

ton and his impulsiveness, Welles and his senility, Lincoln and his slowness. Let us first get the ship out of the breakers; then court-martial the officers if they deserve it.' "

Chapter Twenty-Five

GETTYSBURG: VICKSBURG

THE MONTH of July, 1863, saw the fall of Vicksburg and the Battle of Gettysburg, but, according to the *Tribune* editors, the end was not yet in sight. They were busy fighting compromise and "peace" talk, and found that Lincoln was on their side and that their faith in him was justified. Hardly a block in Chicago but had a soldier in the army, and the taxes were the highest in the city's history, but business was booming and rents were soaring. The *Tribune* offered advice as to the strategy around Chattanooga, where a big battle was looming, but it still had space and energy to go into the subject of improvement of Chicago's streets and parks, both of which were in a deplorable condition.

The Battle of Gettysburg was in progress during the first days of July. The *Tribune* printed all the news it could get on this great battle, and on July 7 the paper said that Meade had done nobly and that the country now awaited with hope the capture of Lee.

On July 8 the paper announced the fall of Vicksburg. It had capitulated on the 4th after a siege of 47 days. The *Tribune* printed special dispatches from Cairo and from the rear of Vicksburg and printed a history of famous sieges. There was more on the same subject on the 9th.

"The laurels of Grant are green and flourishing," said the *Tribune*. "He has more work to do. With this and the crushing of Lee's army patriots may hope to see the winding up of this wicked and causeless rebellion. We may now expect to hear peace cries. Let the peace terms embrace freedom to all slaves in the rebellious states, pardon and amnesty to the people and death to Jeff Davis and his infamous conspirators."

"Let the draft go on," said the *Tribune* on July 11. "The end is not yet."

A full-page story of the fall of Vicksburg was carried on July 14. There were draft riots in New York.

"Only 9,000 will be needed at this time for the Illinois draft," said the *Tribune* on July 20, "as we have sent more than the required number. Let no one fear riots here. If they come they will be put down as in New York. The Copperhead plan is to follow the New York riots with a worse one here. It has been hinted, and not very privately, that this and certain other establishments are doomed. Most vigorous preparations will be made to enforce the draft here and no blank cartridges will be fired."

"How will the London *Times* take the Vicksburg and Gettysburg victories?" asked the *Tribune*. "All that our great unseen enemy, the master of the *Times*, could do, has been done to damage us with the English people. It was only on April 29 that the *Times* said the Northwest must give up hope of seeing the Mississippi open again. All that is now smashed like a dream. There will be bitter mourning in Printing House Square and by the *Times*' lying correspondent in New York."

The *Tribune* poured a full measure of wrath on Vallandigham, who was running for governor of Ohio, and called for vengeance for the Unionists killed in Tennessee. The Germans as a whole were true to this country, the *Tribune* said on July 22, while the Irish "are snared in Copperheadism and are false

to it." They gave a column to a meeting of the German Workingmen's Society.

The funeral of Major William H. Medill of the 8th Illinois Cavalry, who fell at Gettysburg, was held on July 22 from the house of his brother, Joseph, at West Washington and Morgan Streets. There was a military escort of two companies of the 15th Illinois Regiment from Camp Douglas. The Chicago Typographical Union also took part in a body. The procession, in which the horse of the dead major walked behind the hearse, formed in front of the Zouave Armory. Led by a band and under the command of Colonel W. M. McChesney, it marched to the Medill residence. After services there, conducted by the Reverend Robert Collyer, the procession passed through the downtown district, passing the *Tribune* office, and then north to the cemetery.

In its report of the funeral on July 23 the *Tribune* gave a history of the 8th Illinois Cavalry. It had left Chicago with 1,215 sound men for duty. There were now only 550 on the rolls and only 400 able to perform active service. The regiment took part in forty battles in two years. Major Medill was under fire thirty times and led his regiment or parts of it in nineteen battles. While in Virginia the regiment killed, captured, or wounded 2,000 rebels, and confiscated and liberated 5,000 slaves. The regiment was always out in front, and once approached within three miles of Richmond.

The *Tribune* sent a correspondent to Niagara Falls to chronicle the doings of "The Martyr," Vallandigham. The Ohio Copperhead was running for governor of his state from a hotel over the Canadian border. The correspondent said the Copperheads were trying to make him governor and then "lift him into the position now held by Honest Old Abe. Will the day ever come when this will be so? If yes, it will be the darkest day that human liberty ever encountered. I cannot, will not, believe it."

An editorial called for the organization of a city regiment

of business men and said the Union Defense Committee would equip it.

A letter written by the late Senator Douglas, dated May 10, 1861, was printed on page 1 on July 26. In this letter Douglas put patriotism above party and said it was the duty of the Democrats to support the government.

Maximilian of Austria was made Emperor of Mexico by Louis Napoleon. In this connection the *Tribune* said our government should place matters on a war footing by sea and land. " The hate of the old despotisms of Europe for our free government is sleepless. It is all part of a great conspiracy."

A three-column report on General Logan's speeches in southern Illinois was published on August 1. He was called a real Democratic Union saver. There was a story on the Chicago rolling mills on the north branch of the Chicago River which had been opened in 1860 and which now required a new building. Plans were made for a lake tunnel to supply pure drinking water. A national convention of teachers was held at Bryan Hall. General Logan came to Chicago and addressed a great crowd at Courthouse Square. The *Tribune* printed his speech in pamphlet form for circulation through the army and the Northwest at $2 a hundred.

Letters seized in Mississippi by the Federal army were printed in the *Tribune* of August 15. One was from James Larmon, a Chicago business man, proprietor of the Larmon Block, in which he said on January 14, 1861, that the time had come for the Southern states to set up a new and true Republic and that the West would in time join it. The *Tribune* said he should be passed " as a felon in the streets."

The latter part of August was marked by the Ohio campaign. Lawrence, Kansas, was burned by raiders. " Now burn Charleston," the *Tribune* retorted.

The draft enrollment was under way and a trotting meet was held at the Chicago Driving Park.

Correspondent " Spectator " wrote from Washington on

September 1: "The only proposition the government will listen to from armed traitors is that of unconditional surrender and submission to the laws. The most the mass of traitors can hope for is to retain their heads and their lands by giving up their slaves; while the guilty leaders will receive no terms, except possibly the chance of running away."

Editor Bross returned to his class reunion at Williams College and wrote a letter from there about those "classic shades" and the changes of time.

The President's letter to a mass meeting of Union men at Springfield was regarded by the *Tribune* as one of the most important documents of the war. "The night is over and peace shows on the distant horizon. But that peace must be accepted only on the condition that it remains with us forever, giving guaranties of freedom at home and substantial comfort to the millions still held in bondage. Stand by the President and all will be right."

A convention of Union citizens was held at Springfield to endorse the course of Lincoln and Yates. George P. Upton, who had been with the Union fleet at Memphis and other points and was now news editor, went down to Springfield to help out the regular correspondent.

"We noticed," he wrote on September 5, "that nearly all the speakers recognized the great truth that God makes and writes history; that the weighty affairs of American civilization are in His hands and that they expressed a perfect faith and confidence in the result of the present conflict, because it was in His hands. This is a new element in American politics of modern times, and we are glad to recognize it. . . . Every speaker was for uncompromising war — war to the bitter end — war until the rebellion was put down and the Union was once more established in its old might and majesty."

The *Tribune* predicted war with France over the Mexican encroachments. The emperor "will be kicked off the continent into the sea."

On the President's Springfield letter the *Tribune* spoke again on September 10: "We have never doubted Abraham Lincoln. If we have aforetime quarreled with his seeming tardiness, and with his choice of agents, we have never questioned his earnestness of purpose, nor the abiding wisdom by which these purposes were to be worked out. Least of all, have we ever had any doubt of the firmness of his anti-slavery convictions, nor of his perfect sincerity in expressing them, so far as he could justly do so, upon the policy that his administration has pursued. The Springfield letter dispels all doubt and silences all croakers. The battle is to be fought out. No miserable compromise, the device of politicians or the handiwork of time-servers, is to stop the progress of our arms — is to stand as a shield between the rebels and the punishment that their crimes have earned. For this and for these the country will owe what a debt of gratitude and admiration to that Christian patriot who as the guide and deliverer of this country fills the chair in which Washington sat. God bless Old Abe."

Rosecrans was marching on Bragg at Chattanooga, and Lee and Meade appeared to be again approaching battle in Virginia. The *Tribune* thought this Eastern battle would decide the fate of the rebellion. Governor Yates wrote the *Tribune* editors that the safety of the country was the chief consideration, that he had no favorite man for president, not even Lincoln.

England changed front on the iron rams being built in English yards for the Confederates. Fear and terror inspired this, the *Tribune* said. "The people of England were against these violations of international law. There is fear also of this country. They find us deadly, bitter, determined, remorseless, unappeasable against them — and so, as God helps us, we will always be, until they redress the vast catalogue of wrongs which they have perpetrated against us."

Bids were opened for a two-mile lake tunnel off the foot of Chicago Avenue to obtain pure lake water. The State Hor-

ticultural Fair held at Rockford received much attention. The observatory and main buildings of the University of Chicago, the first institution of this name and no longer in existence, were going forward.

The *Tribune* called on the administration to enforce the Confiscation Act. Rosecrans was in trouble at Chattanooga. "Send him help at once," said the *Tribune* on September 23. "We have 40,000 idle from Grant's army at Vicksburg, with no one to worry about, and could raise twenty regiments of blacks. Help him. There is not a moment to be lost."

A report of the escape of 600 rebels at Camp Douglas was found to be false.

"Spare the reciprocity treaty with Canada," the *Tribune* said on September 24. New England was considered selfish in this. "We have a right to the St. Lawrence way to the sea."

Time out from war news was taken on September 25 to look at Chicago parks. "Though Chicago may boast rapid and wonderful metropolitan advances [pop. now 165,000] in population, prosperity and civic power in a quarter of a century, we are very far behind every other locality in the country in the matters of public taste. Our growth has been a rude, uncultivated one, measured by dollars and cents and huge piles of iron and stone and brick; a race of speculation in which a good many were distanced and a few came out successfully. There is not a single park or drive in the city. True we have cow pastures and rotten plank roads dignified with these names and a shame to the reputation of the city. Dearborn park – a few shriveled trees without a flower, overgrown with rank weeds, the receptacle of tin cans, dead animals and rubbish. The Court House is a standing disgrace to the city. Let us have trees and flowers and walks. Pause a minute and give some thought to this."

Halleck was blamed on September 26 for not sending Grant's veterans to Rosecrans to help at Chickamauga. The Washington correspondent of the *Times* was called a rebel

spy. "We suspect this and his letters show he is in full sympathy with them."

On October 1 and 2, 1863, the *Tribune* approved the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act by the President and the action of Governor Yates in raising a regiment of colored troops. The election of John Brough was called for in Ohio. "It would be equivalent to a victory of our armies." A Chicago relief fund was sent to the victims of the Lawrence, Kansas, massacre. The Northwestern Fair was being pushed as an aid to the Soldier Relief Fund. The city was filled with hungry house seekers. On October 8 the *Tribune* gave this picture:

"There is hardly a block in the city or a mercantile house that has not a representative in the army. The taxes are the heaviest of all times. Yet there was never a year when as many buildings were erected, except perhaps 1856. Many blocks are built to last a century. Marble palaces and new residences everywhere. Rents are still enormous. A frame dwelling on Wabash Avenue which cost $1,500 rents for $600 a year. Dwellings two miles from the Courthouse are $25 and $30 a month. Mechanical labor is at a premium. The sidewalks and streets of Chicago are still in awful condition."

Chapter Twenty-Six

"SAUERKRAUT FOR HALLECK"

As the year 1863 drew to a close the end of the war began to appear on the editorial horizon. "Keep faith in Uncle Abe and keep a stiff upper lip and all will be well," was the *Tribune's* advice. But the draft was characterized as a failure, and the old war spirit was hard to keep in high gear.

The fall elections were a general Union victory and the *Tribune*, in looking ahead at reconstruction and the next presidential election, saw only Lincoln, with McClellan, "who had no more chance of victory than a mummy," as his opponent. They advised Lincoln, however, that his popularity rested on the support of the "Radicals," and that he must hew close to that line. There must be no weakening toward the South and its old masters, and the shattered regiments must be filled. They should send Halleck back to his old home in the Mohawk Valley and let Lincoln "mount his horse and unsheath his sword."

With some obvious pride the *Tribune* called attention on October 10 to its first page, where six of its nine columns were filled with telegraph news. Three years before, it was stated, half a column was usually given to such news. The Union party was called upon to get busy in Wisconsin and to put patriotism above party.

The elections in Ohio, Iowa, Indiana, and Pennsylvania presented to the editors a "victory of gigantic proportions," a victory for the Federal Constitution and the Union.

"Snake killing time has come," the paper said on October 14. "Let the loyal people of the North, consolidated the more by this victory, push forward this war with new energy and make yesterday's defeat of the Northern allies of treason a happy auspice of the ending of the war, in the triumph everywhere of loyalty and the destruction of all who plot against the Republic. We hope the government will without delay take steps to fill up the shattered regiments of our army and push on our columns to victory and the end of the war. There is no further necessity of suspending operations of the conscription law."

"Old Abe" was the subject of an editorial on October 16:

> All the world knows we are for Old Abe. This paper, so the politicians and the people say, powerfully contributed to his nomination, and we know that, when the nomination was made, it

omitted nothing to insure his election. We have been for him all the while – for him with all his faults and all his virtues – the latter far outweighing the former – for him as an honest man, in the purity of whose purpose and the strength of whose patriotism the whole country might rely. We are for him still. We believe that he has more horse sense and more practical information about military matters, especially in relation to the Army of the Potomac, than any other man in or out of the service in or about Washington; and if he would put out that beetle-headed Halleck, whose study is how not to do it unless it is done according to the traditional policy of the ancients, when shield and buckler, catapults and boiling oil were the weapons of warfare; and with Hooker, Meade, etc. at his elbow, put himself actively in command of the forces about the capital, he would achieve the victories for the attainment of which all his policies have been shaped. His letter to McClellan, about and subsequent to the days of Antietam, urging that " poor shoat " to show how and when and in what time something could be done; his orders that are public and his many repeated conversations that are private, all point to his fitness to command. Let Old Abe order and mount his horse, and unsheath his sword and the war will go on. Send Halleck to the Mohawk to refresh himself on sauerkraut.

The draft was a failure, the *Tribune* declared on October 17. Out of 250,000 drafted it had produced only 35,000 men in twelve Eastern states. The blame was assigned to the causes for exemption adopted by the War Department, " a hole as big as a barn door. Symptoms of ailment have been magnified, personal influence and bribery have opened the door. We warned the Secretary of War when we first saw the Leiber list [exemptions] that the draft would be a failure."

Grant was reported at Cairo on October 18 and the *Tribune* wondered where he was going, what new command he would have. They thought there was little likelihood of his superseding Meade, " a dangerous command, where he would likely fall victim to the McClellanites or the insolent stupidity of Halleck."

The President called for 800,000 volunteers for three years.

If any state failed to meet its quota a draft would begin there on January 5, 1864.

An imaginary interview was published on October 18 between the Ohio gubernatorial candidate, Vallandigham, in Canada, and Editor Storey of the *Chicago Times*. "The arch traitor and Copperhead secession promulgator for Illinois, on his return from the east on last Hangman's Day, called upon Jeff Davis' pimp at Windsor to offer his condolence at his defeat." In the alleged interview Vallandigham was offered a job on the *Times*.

The *Tribune* scolded the North for prodigality of expenditure for such things as diamonds and laces, while the South was suffering privation. The women were called upon to enter "a noble, angelic ministry of patriotism."

Correspondent "Bod" from Chattanooga, which was under bombardment from Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain, wrote that prices in Mississippi not under Federal control included: cornmeal, $3 a bushel; flour, $120 a barrel; Irish potatoes, $12 a bushel; eggs, $2 a dozen; whiskey, "very mean," $50 a gallon; shoes, $25; "fearful price for the luxury of self government."

Grant had assumed command of the armies of Ohio, Cumberland, and Kentucky, it was announced on October 21. General Rosecrans was out. "The *Tribune* had confidence in Rosecrans simply because it believed it saw in him an honest, earnest general, a thorough hater of this rebellion and no admirer of its cause, willing to hew to the line let the chips fall where they would. We have desired to make no military pets, having had our share in the general warning that to cast a hero 'in enduring brass' is not a wise thing to do until the subject is carefully selected and proven. It is not men but a cause we are building up. We regret this end to the hopes the country had built on Rosecrans. That Stone River, which cost us 17,000 men, was a failure on the part of someone cannot be denied."

A special dispatch from Ohio on the elections, signed "Hic-

Hoc," said: "Ohio has nobly vindicated herself. There is not a liberty-loving man in all the land who does not feel that there is more hope in humanity today than yesterday. Woe to him who attempts to raise his puny arm or voice against this high judgment of the people" [the defeat of Vallandigham].

Chicago harbor, it was reported on October 22, was blocked, walled in by sand brought by the southern winds. The *Tribune* suggested the building of substantial piers to be financed by appropriations or subscriptions. There was no hope of the Federal government doing anything about it.

Potter Palmer was reported as having sent a check for $200 to the ladies of the Northwestern Fair. A column was printed on Henry Ward Beecher, who was in England preaching the cause of the North. On the subject of complaints against Lincoln for removing Rosecrans the *Tribune* said on October 29: "We do not know where Rosecrans erred, but we do know that Mr. Lincoln, who removed him, is patriotic and wise, that he has a clear and distinct view of the whole field. We can trust him and do trust him. Through his eyes we are for the present content to look."

The *Times* and the *Tribune* were at war over the expenses of the Sanitary Commission and the Northwestern Fair officials. "The poor old morning abolition newspaper, meaning the *Chicago Tribune*, we presume," said the *Tribune*, "has never had one cent from the commission, does its work free of charge and has given it more money outright than all the editors of the Davis organ ever spent for charitable purposes in their lives."

In "A Look Ahead," the *Tribune* said on November 1:

> Abraham Lincoln is making his way nearer and nearer to the people's heart. He is this day the most popular man in the United States, not alone among the Radicals with whom we labor, but among the classes who are pleased to call themselves Conservatives —among soldiers and officers as well as among civilians, among men of the East as well as the West.

We do not know what a year will bring forth but the political outlook tells us that our old fashioned Illinoisan will continue to rule this country after March, 1865, with the same wisdom, vigor and success that have marked his administration since March, 1861. So much for the qualities which we saw in him in 1860, and which caused us to step forth as his principal and most ardent supporters anterior to and during the national convention, which was thought to be in Mr. Seward's breeches pocket.

We knew what we were about; and though our zeal may sometimes have outrun his motions since the war began; and though we, with only a partial and limited view of the vast field of operations, have often chafed against the delay of him who saw and comprehended the whole, we have never for a moment doubted that Mr. Lincoln, in whom there never was an impulse of unlawful ambition, a shadow of dishonesty, a wish that was not for the welfare of his country, nor a thought that was not for the advancement and happiness of his race, the people have that President who, above all his competitors for the honor that the people bestowed, is, his errors and faults all included, the wisest, the safest, the most unselfish — the man most fitted for the time in which he lives, and for the desperate dangers against which he contends.

Though we have, in the discharge of our duty as conscientious journalists, owing to our readers the fealty that we owe to no one man, had frequent occasion to dissent from the policy that has been pursued; and though in that matter touching Schofield's administration in Missouri, we have thought and still think that he does a grievous wrong to his warmest friends — a wrong against which we do not mean to cease protesting until it is redressed — we have never had the remotest suspicion that in whatever he did he was not animated by patriotism so lofty and true that it ennobled the errors which in spite of it have been committed. . . .

But we want to tell Mr. Lincoln one thing, however, plainly and honestly. He is popular because the people believe in his willingness to invoke all constitutional and proper agencies for putting an end to this infamous rebellion; and in his just and eternal hostility to the men who provoked the war, and now, whether in the North or South, carry it on against the government. They believe him because of his Emancipation Proclamation and his willingness to stand by and sustain it; and because they think they see he is, as he is, as they are, progressive in the good work in which the country is engaged. They are the so-called Radicals. . . . It is a

real historical fact that in revolutions the radical party always wins. It may fail in consolidating and perpetuating its power; but in the profound movements, it never fails to win it. The uninformed president makers who oppose bargains and political chicane to the popular impulses and instincts, will do well to remember this and so will Mr. Lincoln.

On November 4 the old flag again appeared on page 1 and the words of the song *The Battle Cry of Freedom,* which begins: " Yes, we'll rally round the flag, boys."

" The pyramid of loyal states is complete," the *Tribune* announced in its story of election returns. Sixteen states, including Illinois, were counted. " The result of the fall elections of 1863 is made up and stands an onslaught upon snakes compared with which that of St. Patrick was a bagatelle. Everywhere it has been a slaughter of Copperheads. Illinois stands by the President. Chicago, which first saw his name flung out upon the Republican banner, sends him 3,000 majority to tell him that the metropolis of the Northwest sustains the war. And now let loyal men thank God and take courage. Fill up the army. Stand by the government. Rally round the flag. The people will it. Their elections have made it dangerous to be otherwise."

The *Tribune* urged that the supply of ironclads be increased. " We will need them for the prospects of international trouble over the world. Keep ready and equal to any emergency."

At 5 o'clock on the afternoon of November 3, the *Tribune* reported, " while the regular bridge tender was peddling Copperhead tickets, a hundred head of cattle were driven on Rush Street bridge. The bridge fell in two and a girl was drowned. This will cost about $60,000, a slight penalty for resigning the city government to the care of careless Copperheads."

There was a lull on all war fronts during the early part of November. The *Tribune* called on the war Democrats who were to meet in Chicago to take this opportunity to help save

the Union, and said it had faith in them. A Negro regiment was being formed. The stench of the river presented a problem. The horse railroad was ready on Blue Island Avenue and on Halsted Street. A Copperhead plot was discovered in Canada to invade the United States through the Great Lakes region. The *Tribune* declared that despite treaties with England, the United States must prepare to defend the Canadian border. A system of defenses was proposed.

Jefferson Davis was on tour in the South. "Let us pray," said the *Tribune*, "for that blessed time when he will have but one more speech to make and that under the gallows tree."

A review of the hog-packing business on November 16 showed phenomenal growth. "No prophet can foretell the commercial glory of Chicago. Not one acre in ten in the country tributary to Chicago is now under cultivation." There were fifty-four packing firms in the city.

Subscriptions were started for a new bridge at State Street, the city to spend an amount equal to the subscriptions for this project.

The "largest whiskey still in the world" was at 69 Clark Street, according to a front page ad. The new St. Peter's Church was described as an illustration of Chicago's development in beautiful buildings.

Three hundred words were printed on November 20 from Gettysburg, telling of the dedication of the battlefield and ending: "The oration of the Hon. Edward Everett, the solemn dirge of the choir and the dedicatory remarks of President Lincoln will live long among the annals of the war," said the *Tribune*. The *Chicago Times* called it a stage play and said Lincoln had acted the clown, with bottled tears, and that his heroes were crimped in Ireland or hunted down in the streets of New York.

The next day a complete report from a staff correspondent of the Gettysburg ceremony was printed. The President's address was given in full and the account ended: "More than any

other single event will this glorious dedication nerve the heroes to a deeper resolution of the living to conquer at all hazard. More than anything else the day's work contributes to the nationality of the great Republic."

Everett's speech took two hours and four minutes to deliver, the reporter said, and " perhaps the most attentive listener was Old Abe himself, absorbed in profound attention." The President corrected Everett once when the speaker said Meade for Lee. There were thirty-three lines in the President's speech.

Chicago's quota under the new draft was 3,000. This was to have been raised by January 5. " Is it not about time for somebody to be moving in the matter? " the *Tribune* asked. " Where is the patriot war spirit that aroused the people of Chicago under previous calls for volunteers? "

It was rumored on November 22 that Grant had fallen back from Chattanooga.

" Cabbages for Halleck and war for those who comprehend it," said the *Tribune*. " Knoxville is the key to the present line. If that falls all is lost in the Southwest. We know of no reason outside of the ineffectiveness and incompetency of Gen. Halleck why this array of evils should now confront the country and send cold chills down to the soles of every loyal Union man. And we know of no remedy save the heroic one of sending Halleck, who is responsible for army movements, back to the captaincy for which he is best fitted or to the Mohawk and cabbages among which he was raised."

A war map of the area from Richmond to Chattanooga was printed on November 23. The next three weeks might see the rebellion strangled or Grant might have to retire to Nashville for the winter, the *Tribune* decided.

Henry Ward Beecher, back from England, gave his views on that country in its relation to the war. " Whether the common people of England may be able to force the government to our side or not," said the *Tribune*, " the English nobility and upper classes cannot make the rebellion a success. Rather

than suffer disruption and dismemberment, we will fight England and secession both at once and we shall triumph over their combined power."

" Don't be scared because the rebels seem to have the best of it," said the *Tribune* on November 25. " Keep a stiff upper lip. Do not give up in advance. We have faith, and intend to keep it, in Grant, Hooker, Sherman, Burnside, Thomas and the glorious armies they command."

" Important News from Chattanooga " was announced on November 26. " Our army occupies Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain. Joy and thanksgiving."

Details of the battles were given on November 28, with maps. It was called " a Waterloo victory." The enemy was in retreat toward Atlanta.

" The end is near," said the *Tribune*. " The enemy have met their Waterloo."

On the request of the Navy Department for 140 millions, the *Tribune* said that somebody was fooling " Daddy Welles " and that he could get along just as effectively with 50 millions.

The *Times* took this opportunity to attack the *Tribune* for its criticism of Halleck, followed so soon by what it called a Halleck victory.

The *Tribune* insisted that the army had been in peril and that only a forced march by Sherman from Mississippi enabled Grant to set the great movement on foot. " Sherman was the Blücher who came up in time. All we said of Halleck for his policy of scattering our forces is substantiated."

A description of the Battle of Lookout Mountain, written by a staff man on November 24, was printed on December 2. The *Tribune* also published Edward Everett Hale's " The Man without a Country," from the *Atlantic Monthly*. Ground was broken in Omaha for the Union Pacific Railroad to the West. The recruiting for the army was slow. " It cannot be disguised," said the *Tribune* on December 3, " that great apathy prevails in relation to filling the Illinois quota of troops.

The Copperheads are keeping their men at home so that the Union men will be drawn away and they will carry the state next fall for president. There is also scarcity of labor and high wages. It looks like the draft."

The paper on December 4 pointed out as a singular fact that nearly all Grant's movements yielded guns. "Is it mere luck or an underlying philosophy that determines the luck?"

Grant, the *Tribune* noted, had captured 472 cannon and had taken 90,000 prisoners. "Think of that, ye shades of old commanders whose triumphant processions used to crowd the Roman streets. What were your petty shows to such a list of trophies?"

Eighty prisoners escaped through a tunnel from Camp Douglas.

Congress convened and the Conscription Bill was before the Senate. The $300 bounty was repealed.

The *Tribune* at this time referred to the Army of the Potomac as "The Great Fizzle." Meade, it decided, was a second edition of McClellan.

"Clear out the useless major generals, brigadier generals and those pretty gentlemen, their staff officers," was the published demand on December 9. "Wanted, men to kill rebels — complexion of applicants no object."

As for the "president makers," looking forward to 1864, the paper thought that the opposition had but one candidate, "the grave-digger of Chickahominy — George B. McClellan."

And McClellan, the *Tribune* said, had as good a chance of being President as "a shriveled old mummy in the Chicago museum."

The President's message, including his proclamation of amnesty, was printed on December 16. The oath of allegiance was held out as an olive branch to the rebels.

This proclamation, the *Tribune* said, was one of the first steps toward reconstruction. "The political future begins to

clear up. There is a great deal of work to be finished up during more than one of the coming years, even after the war is ended. A clear head, an honest mind and clean hands are wanted to shape it and conduct affairs through the difficult period which will last after the existing presidential term is ended. Who so fit to carry on what is begun as he who has so ably conducted us, under the guidance of Heaven, thus far, amid such great and complicated perils? There are many worthy men discharging important national trusts, but at present no one stands before him in whom the nation has more and more confidence — Abraham Lincoln."

The *New York Herald* declared Grant a " Copperhead " presidential candidate. The *Tribune* said that Grant's anti-slavery letter to Congressman Elihu B. Washburne had " given the Satanic no warrant for committing such libel."

" Gen. Grant is a great strategist," said the *Tribune* on December 23. " He has headed off an attempt of the *New York Herald* to kill him by advocating him for the presidency, and has written letters to New York friends to that effect. The old hero suggests that there is time enough to look into candidates for the presidency six months hence and in the meanwhile friends of the Union had better consult the interests of the country and his own desires, by filling up his wasted regiments in order to enable him and them to give the finishing blow to the rebellion as soon as possible."

On the published report of General Halleck the *Tribune* said:

" The censure of other generals and the unqualified puffery of himself should not go on the record as the deliberate verdict of history. He divides triumphs between himself and Grant and puts the blame for the Chicamauga defeat on Rosecrans. The failure to concentrate Western armies in July and August was the greatest blunder of the war, cost the repulse at Chicamauga, 50,000 lives and protracted the war six months."

" The Great Prize Fight " was a page-1 heading on December 28. A column was given to the fight between Heenan and King in England.

The Washington letter of December 30 said that Lincoln had the inside track for the Union nomination, and should he not receive it the Democrats expected to elect McClellan.

In Vol. VIII, page 323, of Nicolay and Hay's *Abraham Lincoln; a History*, Medill's thoughts at this time are given as follows:

" So early as the 17th of December, Joseph Medill, editor of ' The Chicago Tribune,' who represented the most vehement Republican sentiment of the Northwest, wrote: ' I presume it is true that Mr. Chase's friends are working for his nomination, but it is all lost labor; Old Abe has the inside track so completely that he will be nominated by acclamation when the convention meets. . . . The people will say to Chase — " You stick to finance, and be content until after 1868 "; and to Grant, " Give the rebels no rest, put them through; your reward will come in due time "; but Uncle Abe must be allowed to boss the reconstruction of the Union.' "

Chapter Twenty-Seven

THE INDEPENDENT PRESS

The year 1864 was one of happy promise, the *Tribune* said on January 1. " The people are becoming united," it was stated, " on a basis of loyalty; strong spirit of opposition to the war has died out and no one except a very few soreheads can now be found to croak out maledictions on the President

and his advisers. The general sentiment is that he is just the man to end it."

God intended Lincoln for President, the paper said a few days later, discouraging the usual political efforts toward president-making that might be expected during the opening of a presidential year. Talk of Grant in this connection was frowned upon. The *Tribune* called for greater economy and simplicity in individual and national life.

It was at this time that an editorial, philosophizing on the subject of the independence of the press, declared that the metropolitan press, which had developed during the war, had grown beyond the need of any friends except the whole people.

A four-column résumé of Chicago's history was printed on January 1. The city was now twenty-four square miles in area, had 722 streets, and a population estimated at 200,000. Its material prosperity had been great.

The *New York Herald* was accorded a column of comment for its " deadly support " of presidential candidates in the past. " They are now calling for Grant. Why harrass him? If he is nominated it must be by the Radicals."

The first week of the new year found Chicago deep in snow, with a temperature of 24 below zero. The weather was the chief topic of news for several days. German Turner Hall on North Clark Street near Chicago Avenue was opened on January 3.

On " President-Making," the *Tribune* said on January 5:

> The public generally means to elect Mr. Lincoln. We have no spare strength or skill for a presidential election and affairs are now going right. Mr. Lincoln's history itself has a lesson for our ambitious men. How early he began to think of the presidency, or at what time the expectation of it broke on his mind, we do not know. But so far as the public has knowledge he had never thought of such a thing until the people took him up and made him President. To the people's eye he had never schemed for it nor aimed

to reach it. But God meant him for President or the nation is deceived; and he came to it so naturally and easily that he must have been profoundly astonished when he found himself elected. With present appearances president-making never seemed likely to turn out poorer; and an overstrained effort on the part of any man will be pretty sure to react and injure him for future chances.

We hope Congress, senators and statesmen will do as little in that line as consistent and let things take their course, especially when that course seems right.

Correspondent "R" reported from the steamer *Atlantic*, on a river trip, that there was abundant evidence of returning loyalty and devotion to the Union on the part of Southerners within our lines, and that free black labor was proving successful.

The draft was postponed to February 5. The *Tribune* wanted blacks accepted on an equal basis with whites. Colonel Bross was raising a regiment of 1,000 Negroes.

"Roll in the recruits," said the *Tribune* on January 6. "Open the pockets, pour out the bounties, give every willing man a place, a musket, equal pay and bounties and the country will be saved without a draft."

The Ashley Bill on reconstruction was printed. This provided for military governments in the conquered territory, with loyal citizens authorized to organize state governments, republican in form.

One hundred members of the first colored Illinois regiment passed along Clark Street and saluted the office of the *Tribune*. The editors said they were proud to acknowledge the compliment from so brave a body of men.

On January 7 the draft still threatened. Cook County was about 1,000 in arrears, the *Tribune* estimated. The Board of Supervisors was considering bounties. There was a city bounty of $75. The city war fund had grown to more than $100,000 a year.

Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts presented in Congress a

bill to permit soldiers to vote for Congressmen. This revived the *Tribune's* campaign to that end. " Union men hail with delight the passage of this bill. Who has a better right to vote than soldiers? A Copperhead Congress would disband the army. This bill or another one should make provision for soldiers' voting for President and Vice President." The Union League of Nashville presented a Lincoln-Johnson ticket.

Excerpts from McClellan's report were printed on January 9 and the 1,000-page document was called " a monument of enduring brass."

The paper noted the deaths from intemperance during the year and commented: " Among the lower classes the crime of intemperance seems to be fearfully on the increase. Every morning 10 or 15 besotted individuals are arraigned on this charge."

An editorial called for greater economy. The last year had been a " carnival of extravagance and prodigality " in the cities of the West. " If money is scarce in the West for legitimate business it is a consequence of buying more than selling. The relief is economy."

The labor question, beginning with 427 B.C., was discussed on January 14. There were 30,000 laborers in Chicago, it was estimated. In 1854 labor received from $1 to $2.50 a day and in 1863 from $2 to $3 a day. In the meantime prices had gone up from 20 to 200 per cent. The fault, the *Tribune* decided, was in " speculators and contractors, those who fatten on the sorrow of the nation."

" Why Milwaukee Hates Chicago " was the subject of a first-page story and map on January 15. Milwaukee at the time was opposing the enlargement of the Illinois-Michigan Canal. " The Chicago and North Western Railroad has taken the life blood out of Milwaukee," said the *Tribune*, " and swept the riches of the West into Chicago's lap. The *Tribune* today circulates twice as many papers in Wisconsin as the poor starving *Sentinel*."

"Zeta," in Washington, reported that the presidential candidacy was settled. "It is Lincoln. Grant is not a candidate and will so write."

The Board of Trade regiment was filling up rapidly and forty-seven recruits had signed up on January 15, it was reported. The Paris correspondent of the *New York Times* was hearing on every hand that Lincoln would merit more than a biography. He would need a history.

Recruits were now receiving as high as $400 in bounties.

A facsimile of the Emancipation Proclamation was offered for sale at $2 to aid the Chicago Soldiers' Home. It was stated that the original draft, through the courtesy of Thomas B. Bryan, president of the Soldiers' Home, was to be held in trust for the home.

Archduke Maximilian accepted the throne of Mexico on January 19, and the *Tribune* said this would be as comfortable a seat as if he sat on a bed of cactus.

"Is Lincoln a great man?" the *Tribune* asked on January 20, and replied: "There are men in public life today who excel Mr. Lincoln in some departments where special abilities are required. We who have to do with him are tolerably satisfied with him in certain particulars."

The *Tribune* said that Lincoln did not have the military talent of Grant, the breadth of philosophy of Seward, nor the financial ability of Chase, but added: "We are free to say that we do not set him up as an idol, lest we might spoil him, lest, as when the nation took to worshiping Old Gen. Harrison, Heaven might take him away from us as a punishment for our idolatry."

Lincoln's mental sagacity, his power to look at the center of things, his mental integrity, fairness, candor, honesty, were mentioned and the article concluded: "His reputation gains day by day. His nomination and election for a second term is an assured thing and will apparently come about as naturally as the changes of the season or the rising of the sun."

Chicago, the *Tribune* said, was the best place for the convention to be held which would renominate Lincoln, and the Wigwam, still standing, was suggested. The controversy with James Gordon Bennett's *New York Herald* continued on January 21 as follows:

We object to an unprincipled pro-slavery sheet like Old Satanic representing Grant to be a Copperhead. Grant has won his distinction and accomplished his great victories at the head of a body of fearless, hardy, radical men whom the *Herald* designates as "Western border ruffians." Most of these invincible soldiers who have carried the Union banner in triumph over so many bloody fields, have been habitual readers of the *Chicago Tribune* for many years. It is a household political organ of their parents and relatives at home, and they are imbued with its uncompromising, robust, radical spirit.

Gen. Grant is a constant reader of this paper, so are his father and all his old neighbors in Illinois. Seventy thousand copies of the *Chicago Tribune* circulate among the soldiers of Grant's armies from Knoxville to Natchez and among the relatives and friends of these soldiers in eight western states. Hence we claim the right to tell this organ of the Five Points and the thugs of New York that it must keep its Copperhead slime off our Illinois general.

"A Copperhead Brought to Grief," was the heading on a story that told of a soldier of the 8th Illinois Cavalry, home on leave, who heard a man "blowing off steam against Old Abe and the abolition government" in a Dearborn Street saloon. The Copperhead got a sound pummeling, and the *Tribune* said he wiped his bloody nose with a copy of the *Times*, "the reading of which had caused him to use disloyal language."

The editorial on the independence of the press was printed on January 22:

Within the last quarter of a century the metropolitan press — that portion at least devoted to freedom, has become thoroughly independent. The people have fostered and approved the change and now even demand that their paper shall be the organ of no mere clique or faction, but that it shall earnestly advocate the right and combat the wrong, come from whatever source it may. So

thoroughly zealous are Americans on this point that nothing can be more injurious to a paper than for it to swerve from these principles, and become the party organ of any man or set of men, no matter how towering his or their ability may be.

For the last few years the *Tribune* has been ruined scores of times in estimation of party hacks and even well meaning friends, when it would not lend itself to their schemes of mere personal aggrandizement, or because it denounced incompetency in generals and demanded more vigorous measures to put down the rebellion. But every leading measure so advocated has become, from necessity, the policy of the government, and from " The Grave-Digger of Chickahominy " all through the list, the " do-nothings " have been laid on the shelf, just as we predicted they would be.

In brief, therefore, the independent press wants no friends — it must have none — except only as they represent truth, progress and patriotism, and in the ratio that men have the will, the energy and the ability to promote these, in that will the press labor with them to secure and to advance the intellectual, the social and the moral welfare of the whole people. To it, social and personal relations, wealth, high position, and even past services are nothing. The questions to be decided are: Are the measures proposed intrinsically right and adapted to promote the welfare of society.

Acting thus the radical, metropolitan press does not, and need not, seek for friends; the whole people heartily support it. They are its friends and daily are they rendering it more entirely independent. A quarter of a century ago, when the press had a county, or at most a state, for its field of operations, it was as a little shallop trading along shore, between towns scarcely dotted upon the map; today it is the proud ocean steamer, bidding defiance to the tempests, and laden with the mails and commerce of the world. Its polar star is truth. The principles which govern or should govern it, are those which tend most directly and most efficiently to elevate the race.

Chapter Twenty-Eight

" THE HOUR AND THE MAN "

POLITICALLY and from a military point of view the early spring of 1864 developed storm signals and clouds of discouragement. The army needed more men. The *Tribune* claimed that Cook County had been over-assessed for recruits, but nevertheless kept up a strong campaign to fill up the ranks, urging the people to " rally around the captain of the ship of state or nothing will save the gallant bark from shipwreck almost in sight of harbor."

While maintaining steadily that Lincoln was the only man to end the war and start the nation on its new way, the *Tribune* editors were in doubt about his re-election. The Republicans were apathetic. " Peace sneaks " were busy. There was talk of a " Copperhead plot " to nominate Grant at Chicago. Lincoln had alienated many of his old friends, particularly the Germans. Chicago's government was in Copperhead hands.

As spring advanced, however, the winds changed and the skies began to clear. Grant was given supreme command of the armies. " God grant that the hour and the man are at hand," the paper said, finding in this appointment a clarification of the political situation and a strong hope for the unified drive on Richmond which it had been calling for.

News from the South told of want, famine, misrule and mutiny, according to a dispatch on January 25. Every able-bodied man between 18 and 65 was being sent into the rebel army. In the same issue of the paper was an article, with a map, on the new gold fields of Idaho.

On January 30, it was decided that the *Tribune's* flagellation of the *New York Herald* had in great measure "put a stop to its braying over Gen. Grant." It told how the *Herald* had supported General Scott in 1860 and added: "Meanwhile the *Chicago Tribune* brought out Old Abe, whom it had in training for the presidential course for a couple of previous years, got him nominated in the Republican Wigwam, entered him for the race which he won with great ease. At the proper moment it nominated him for re-election and the Republican Union press, legislatures and party seconded the motion. He will be renominated, perhaps in the same Wigwam, by acclamation, and be re-elected by a million majority over his highest competitor and Gen. Grant and his whole army will vote for and support him cordially and enthusiastically. The splurgings and mouthings of the *Herald* have no more influence over popular opinion than the stale jokes and baboon grimaces of the circus clown over the sentiments of those around the rings."

The draft was postponed until March 10, and New York's Fernando Wood in Congress said the South would never be subdued. Peace petitions were being circulated early in February. The *Tribune* referred to these movements as "peace sneaks." Illinois, the paper said, had not been seriously taxed for men and there need be no draft in the state.

The *Tribune* objected to the hospitality of the city being extended to the Democrats in convention on July 4. "This party has plunged the nation into war. Its chief strength and power is in the Southern states. War Democrats of the North are denounced as abolitionists. The only states that seceded are Democratic. Copperhead aldermen have passed this resolution."

There was a run on the State Savings Bank and the *Tribune* said that Union members of the police force were being discharged. The alarming increase of prostitution in Chicago was made the subject for an attack on Mayor Sherman and the

police commissioner. Noon prayer meetings were held in the Clark Street Methodist Church.

National bank currency was coming out and meeting with the approval of the people, according to the *Tribune*, which urged Congress to " tax the old rag mills out of existence."

" Old Bennett is now patting McClellan on the back, feeding him with sugar plums and encouraging him to start in the presidential race," said an editorial on February 5.

Washingtonian homes for inebriates were featured in the *Tribune*, and encouraged, and a temperance address by John B. Gough was given much space. New business blocks were extending the business district.

Headquarters of the *Tribune* in Washington were opened at 244 Pennsylvania Avenue. The paper was kept on file there and visitors invited.

Governor Yates, on February 6, said that Illinois had contributed 145,973 men to the army, a surplus for all previous calls, but the balance due under the last call was 4,559 men. " Let Illinoisans read this brilliant page in our history," said the *Tribune*, " and see that it is undimmed by no laggard zeal in response to the present calls."

The army entering on the spring campaign exceeded 800,000 effectives. Sherman was at Cairo and a great expedition of some kind was under way. His army a few days later moved out of Vicksburg.

The *Tribune* at this time was printing about two columns of want ads daily, a growing feature and one on which the paper commented. Want ads, it was said, were capable of great value, and also capable of being prostituted.

" The heresy of state sovereignty " was the subject of comment on February 8. " The people entered the Revolution as one people. The only opposition to the united theory, the national theory, is slavery and its corrupting and perverting influence."

Louis Agassiz lectured at the Y.M.C.A.; his talk was given a

column in the *Tribune*, which was showing great interest in news of science.

The war with the *Chicago Times* continued. On February 10, the *Tribune* commented: "It is evidence of the strength of the government that it can afford to let alone such malignants as the *Times*. A strong man may carry boils that would kill a weak one. Swine enjoy their own perfume. Nobody cares now for that paper's venom since the rebels are bound to be put under at any rate. It hurts nobody and scares nobody. Let the Copperheads do their worst."

Parson Brownlow was quoted: "Had we the power we would turn loose all the beasts of the forest, the snakes and lizards of the swamps and all the devils in hell, but we would put down the rebellion."

The next military campaign, the *Tribune* said on February 11, should be conducted on the policy of concentration of our forces against the main rebel armies.

"We believe in the cry — On to Richmond! The expectation of the country is to see the war succeed from the start of this campaign. That it will succeed we must not think of doubting. A blow now is near the vitals. Let Grant once get Atlanta and what becomes of Savannah, Charleston and all the North Carolina coast? On to Atlanta, then. On to Montgomery and Mobile. On to Richmond. On through the whole gizzard of the Confederacy."

The *Tribune* at this time discouraged the friends of Lincoln from agitating the matter of the presidency. It was too soon and it was not necessary. "We believe him to be the first choice of the vast majority of Union men."

Nevertheless, the editors were troubled about Grant as the possible nominee of the peace Democrats. Scripps wrote to Congressman Washburne asking him whether he thought Grant would accept the nomination of the Chicago convention. Rebels, Copperheads, and soreheads, it appeared to the *Tribune*, were working against Lincoln. Horace Greeley was

attacked for his opposition on the " no-two-terms " idea. " Greeley is in the main honest," said the *Tribune*, " but is addled by the pertinacity of brazen women who think they have a mission and long haired baboons who delude themselves with the notion they are philosophers, and the whole tribe of reformers."

Medill wrote to Washburne on the same subject, telling of the Copperhead " plot " to nominate Grant at Chicago. Grant, he thought, could beat Lincoln, or had at least a chance. He wanted Washburne, as Grant's close friend, to advise Grant to wait until the rebels had been conquered, and then, with the second Lincoln administration friendly to him, he could easily be elected for two terms. It was suggested to Washburne that Lincoln could not refuse him a Cabinet position for this service, probably the Post Office Department, where he would wield vast influence. Medill also had suggestions for winning back the German vote which Lincoln had alienated; he also wanted Montgomery Blair removed from the Cabinet. He wanted Lincoln to cut loose from " semi-copperheads " and put " live, bold, vigorous radicals in their places." Then no human power could prevent Lincoln's nomination and re-election. Medill, who was now editor in chief of the paper, expressed no such doubts in its columns.

A question arose at this time as to the Cook County quota of volunteers. The county contained one-half the population of the state, the *Tribune* maintained, but was assessed on the basis of a large alien population. The *Tribune* figured that it was over-assessed by about 2,000 men. " We are caught in a trap and suppose there is no real remedy."

" Get ready for inflation and bad times when the 600,000 men come home," said the *Tribune* on February 17. General James A. Garfield of Ohio made a speech favoring confiscation of the property of rebels. The *Tribune* commented on this as clear thinking. Colonel Bross' Negro regiment had now more than 500 men. The Dearborn Observatory was soon

to be ready for observing the stars. In commenting on an Agassiz lecture on February 20, the *Tribune* found the development of the race analogous to the geological periods. "The end of man is perfect likeness to God, and the brotherhood of all the race. Yet how slowly the work of perfection goes on. The race moves slowly toward its aim but steadily and surely. The history of the past is a pledge for the future. This is to be or else the history of man is a contradiction to all the Creator's other works, a palpable blunder and a failure."

Under the heading, "The Voice of the People," a column was introduced the latter part of the month carrying political items, particularly on Lincoln for the next President. It was the beginning of a feature which became popular and is still found in the *Tribune*.

A four-column history of the Board of Trade, which was about to erect a building of its own, was printed on February 27.

On the two-term issue raised against Lincoln, the paper said that while it liked the single six-year term, it preferred the present system to one restricting the President to one four-year term.

Early in March the question of Cook County draft quotas was still unsettled. The high bounty period was ended and it looked as if the county was one thousand men in arrears unless seamen and veteran volunteers were counted. On presidential candidates the *Tribune* said, on March 4: "Mr. Lincoln is too radical for some, too conservative for others. He is not a man to appeal to popular enthusiasm. The people hesitated two years before feeling satisfied with him. The rebellion was aimed at Lincoln and we are for giving them Abraham Lincoln and nobody else until they have accepted their duty. The fitness of Chase is unquestioned, but let him bide his time."

The first schooner of the season came in with a cargo of wood. The need for a city hospital was agitated. A fund was started for a general museum of natural history (the one still

in Lincoln Park) with Robert Kennicott's Arctic collection as a foundation. On the military situation the *Tribune* declared: " The policy of seizing and holding a position in the heart of Georgia is so manifest that we cannot for a moment believe that the War Department will suffer it to fail. [Sherman had started on a mysterious expedition and then had returned to Vicksburg.] Sherman must at all events be supported."

The *Tribune* gave this little sidelight on Western sentiment as representing the feeling of the people in general. " A sturdy farmer from Oskaloosa, Iowa, one of the bone and sinew class, called upon us yesterday in relation to business matters. Before leaving we asked him how Mr. Lincoln stood in Iowa.

" ' Stand,' said the old farmer, with glistening eyes and raising his brawny fist, ' Old Abe stands 17 feet higher in Iowa than any other man in the United States.' "

" Abraham Lincoln and the People " continued to appear regularly. Sherman was revealed as having destroyed railroads north and west of Meridian, Mississippi.

" Men are wanted," said the *Tribune* on March 8. " We are still busy proving what states owe the government nothing. Meanwhile great gaps in the armies continue. The immediate demand of the spring campaign is concentration of our forces and quick, strong blows at the vitals of the rebellion. We shall never get this tree of rebellion down if we spend time in lopping off twigs. There are three armies to be crushed, Lee's, Johnston's and Longstreet's, and to effect that our forces must be massed and hurled upon them. If we have not got men enough let the draft be enforced."

Every loyal man should devote himself to the election of a Union President, the *Tribune* said on March 9, " and that President will be Abraham Lincoln."

The city election was a month ahead and the *Tribune* pictured the eighteen Copperhead aldermen and members of the police board " busy bragging, braying and hiccuping," while

the Republicans were quietly sleeping. The Council was in the hands of the " tax eaters." " It is time for Union voters to wake up and go to work."

Grant was given chief command of all the armies in the field, with Halleck as chief of staff, the latter to reside in Washington. " We wish we could write Washington Territory," said the *Tribune,* referring to Halleck, and evidently wishing he could be banished to the Pacific coast.

The next day this characterization of Grant was given:

If when the war first broke out the whole country had been canvassed for a probable candidate for the honor just conferred on Gen. Grant, perhaps no single voice would have then named the present recipient. A good many thought that Gen. Scott was to be the great man of the war. Of course nobody who had read history or who had done any amount of thinking thought so. But who or when the man would be found who should get into the nation's eye and stand proved was of course a mystery which time must unveil. As usual the prominent figure comes from a quarter where he is not looked for.

But the war is not ended, and it is not best to say too much yet. Idols may fall and get broken by being lifted too high. What may be said with safety is that Gen. Grant has earned his way to his present position; and the way in which he has earned it gives good hope of his keeping on, by the favor of Providence, to do other work yet to be done and to stand approved still when it is finished.

Grant owes nothing to fictitious circumstances. He has simply taken his place and worked on with unflinching devotion to the trust that he has had at hand. Earnestness, energy and a sort of bull dog grit have been his capital in trade. As to enthusiasm, or the power to awaken it in his army, he seems to possess not a particle. A man of common appearance, and of simple, familiar and somewhat silent manners; with no imagination that anybody knows of, and with no taste or aptitude for display, he is simply a man of work.

For another thing, he has that first class American trait of minding his own business. He is not turned aside, so far, by either ambition, vanity or clamor. No general has been more severely criticized or condemned since the war began. Yet if he has ever said

a word in reply the public does not know what it is. He has been accused of drunkenness, carelessness and want of capacity. To all this he has said nothing. Nor has he turned aside to tinker the political kettle, even though it leaked, only so it didn't leak his way. It has always been enough for him to take care of his department and manage his own army.

No other head of a department has had so uniformly a first class of men in command immediately under and about him. This is not a matter of mere chance. The spirit of the general is infused in his subordinates. The right man selects other right men. Napoleon had Napoleon's Marshals.

The manner in which Grant has thus come to his laurels gives us good hope that he will keep them. The man who won't make a speech, even if he is treated to a good dinner; who has no itching for the presidency that betrays itself under the blandishments of sycophants; who suffers the mosquitoes of criticism to bite him without a wince; and only looks grave and smokes on, gives good assurance that he will keep his balance and do work yet worthy of the public expectation. It would be a great pity should it prove that we have spoiled so good a general with honors; and till we see proof of such an effect we shall believe that the laurels have been worthily and properly bestowed.

Chapter Twenty-Nine

"SAIL WITH CLOSE CANVAS"

THE RALLYING cry, " Our country is in danger and calls for her sons," was raised by the *Tribune* early in May, 1864, as Lincoln called for more men to serve for one hundred days in the most critical phase of the war. Every reader of the *Tribune* was urged to do his full duty, in service, or against " the traitorous hands " among the people. Grant was advancing and

the Battle of Chancellorsville was the occasion for excited celebration. The *Tribune* gave a fireworks display and the city was ablaze with rockets and candles.

There was civil war between Union men and Copperheads down at Charleston, and in Mattoon, Illinois. In Chicago the Republicans won a slight advance in the spring municipal elections; " nothing to crow about," according to the *Tribune*. The paper's campaign against " wildcat shinplasters " seemed to have been won.

The Army of the Potomac, the *Tribune* suggested on March 14, needed a strong infusion of Western troops. It insisted that Grant should not be elevated to a bureau position in Washington, or serve in the rear, but that he should direct his armies from the field.

The office of the *Times* was threatened by a mob, and police were on hand to guard it, the *Tribune* said on March 15. " Loyal men of this city look on that sheet and the establishment whence it emanates as very much like a skunk and they are loath to foul themselves by touching it, even to kill. But Storey's guilty conscience magnifies the molehill of threats into a mountain of danger."

The President issued a new call for 200,000 men on March 15, to fill deficiencies in previous calls. It was rumored that Grant was in favor of " On to Richmond."

" Let Lee's army be once thoroughly whipped and the rebellion is done for," said the *Tribune* of March 16. " His army embodies the bitter, blue-skinned, striped, speckled, hooded, hissing and fanged elements of secession and treason."

Railroad engineers in the Chicago area were on strike for $3 a day. A Republican Union state convention was called at Springfield on May 25 to choose delegates to the National Convention at Baltimore. Mayor Sherman broke ground for the Lake tunnel out from the Chicago Avenue shore. Union mass meetings were held in various wards to counteract " treason " in Chicago.

Major General A. E. Burnside came to Chicago on March 20. He thanked the Union Leagues of the city and county for support. The *Times* referred to him as "the butcher, the attempted assassin of liberty," etc. The *Tribune* reprinted the general's order of June 1, 1863, in which the *Times* was suppressed for disloyal and incendiary statements.

Editor Medill addressed the Chicago Typographical Union on March 25, on the subject of capital and labor. In a two-column article, as reported in the *Tribune*, he developed the thesis that no antagonism could exist between capital and labor, that they were mutually dependent and ought to be friends.

Two columns of spring fashions from New York were printed, also the ritual of the Knights of the Golden Circle in Chicago.

"Is there civil war in Illinois?" the *Tribune* asked on March 30. Copperheads had attacked the Circuit Court at Charleston and an insurrection was threatened at Mattoon. The sheriff of the county sided with the rioters. The 54th Illinois Regiment was called in, and after several rioters had been killed and wounded the uprising was quelled. "The snakes seek their holes," said the *Tribune*. "Treat Northern rebels the same as Southern."

"Sail with close canvas," the *Tribune* advised on April 1. "Keep down expenses, pay off debts; be careful about new ones. Live within your income. This is no time for long-winded operations of a financial nature. A debt now when a dollar is a little more than 60 cents will have to be paid when it is one hundred cents."

The old Foster House was opened as a fine restaurant. It was noted that H. M. Kinsley, later to be widely known both in Chicago and New York, was clerk. Eighteen of the rioters in Coles County were arrested and sent to Springfield.

Grant's failure with the Army of the Potomac was predicted by certain Eastern papers. The *Tribune* took the *New York*

Herald to task for this. Grant had weeded out incompetent officers and had sent West for thirty or forty thousand of his veterans. "Grant understands the nature of the disease that has infected the Potomac Army," said the *Tribune*. "It is McClellanism. That is the distemper and he has set about curing it before he moves on the enemy's works."

The Washington correspondent wrote on April 4: "I tell you, Mr. Editor, that the time has come when Mr. Lincoln must take his choice between the radical and conservative men of the border states. I regard it as essential to the success of the Union party at the next election that Mr. Lincoln should cut entirely loose from border state conservatives."

The *Tribune* defended Lincoln from the charge that most of his addresses and papers were written for him. The Gettysburg speech, it was stated, was entirely Mr. Lincoln's composition.

Chicago was knee-deep in mud in early April. The *Tribune* blamed "Copperhead street cleaners." A cow and an engine collided on North Water Street. The tax budget for 1863 was published, showing $852,426, an excess of $373,116 over the previous year's quota. "Shall this profligacy and shameful waste continue?" the *Tribune* asked.

The spring elections, it was stated on April 11, showed a decided drift toward Lincoln.

A review was given of the members of the Common Council for the approaching municipal election. Each alderman was commented on. "The first ward is represented by Ald. Hahn and Schall," it was stated, "two men of whom the best that can be said is that they are not pestilent, following rather than leading in the anti-Union demonstrations of the Copperhead majority. We want no shaky men in the next council."

Prices were high and the *Tribune* compared this situation with a waterspout, which can be broken with a cannon shot. "Let Grant's cannon thunder a victory and down will come this waterspout in the markets."

The *Chicago Post* said that all the Democratic members of Congress from Illinois favored the nomination of Grant for President. The *Tribune* commented that two only of the seven Illinois members voted to make Grant a lieutenant general, because of his opposition to slavery.

The Invincible Club, a Democratic organization, held a big banquet. The *Tribune* gave it a sarcastic half column, referring to "two-bottle men." Dr. N. S. Davis responded to the toast of the Democratic party as the only savior of the Union, and McClellan as the only man able to lead to victory.

Grant's report of the storming of Lookout Mountain and the Battle of Missionary Ridge was printed in full on April 14 and was characterized as one of the most interesting and important chapters in military record.

"Death to the Wild Cats," was a heading of April 16. "The course of the *Tribune* and the movement of the Board of Trade to drive wild cat shinplasters out of circulation is meeting with wide approval."

Secretary Chase of the Treasury Department suggested that half the war expenses be paid by taxation, and the *Tribune* called on the people to petition Congress for "a suitable and thorough taxation as a remedy for the inflation of prices and the rise in the price of gold."

The municipal election, now at hand, was called a genuine trial of strength between Union men and Copperhead enemies. Later the *Tribune* printed a list of aliens, mostly Irish, who had voted for Mayor Sherman.

"Chicago has no mayor," it was declared on April 18. "The election was claimed for Sherman by 157 votes but we have published a list of 488 aliens who have since obtained protection papers in order to escape the draft. Not a man on the Copperhead ticket was elected by legal votes. Let this election be a demand on the mayor to vacate."

The results of the city election were "not much to crow about," it was reported on April 20. The council result was

a tie, putting Mayor Sherman in a position of greater responsibility. The Union candidate for police commissioner won by 300. Republicans gained four men on the council. "Union men did not turn out as they should. We will do better next fall."

Six columns of advertising appeared on the first page of the paper, because of the abbreviation of telegraph news.

The peace-party movement in the nation was characterized as an "infernal Copperhead pitfall." "Without the Union there can be no peace."

A city-wide fire alarm telegraph system was started on April 22.

Governor Yates appealed to Illinois to fill its quota of 20,000 men in the next twenty days. The *Tribune* urged that this be done quickly. The subject of a tunnel under the river was taken up in council.

"Mr. Lincoln is slow, but the world is slow too," said the *Tribune* on April 27. "He has traveled as fast as the people did. And yet he moves, as does the world and the world will have faith in such a man."

For weeks the *Tribune* was calling on the President and the army for retaliation for the massacre of 300 Negro soldiers at Fort Pillow. It was predicted that Secretary Chase would not much longer endure in office, because of the opposition to his policies.

The government had suffered from strikes, and a military order was issued forbidding interference with workmen who chose to work contrary to the rules of protective associations (unions).

"Reader of the *Tribune*, are you doing your whole duty as a citizen of the Republic?" was asked on May 3. The military situation was analyzed and although confidence was expressed in Grant, the people were advised to "take some counsel of fears — the very ground on which our homes stand is treacherous. From among us traitorous hands beckon to the

enemy and treacherous signals wait to be flung out. We should do less than our duty as public journalists did we not warn the Northwest that at this very hour the air is thick and heavy with peril for all we hold dear."

The governors of the loyal states had been asked to supply 100,000 men for one hundred days of service. These were national guardsmen, called for special government service in addition to Lincoln's general call. " How is this call being met? " an editorial asked. " Slowly in Chicago. And why? This war has been too much of a foreign mission. As you lay down your *Tribune* let the work begin. Can you go yourself? Cast about and see whom you can help to go. Commence today and let the rallying cry sweep through the Northwest. ' Our country is in danger and calls for her sons.'

" The coming hundred days will stand out in history as the great crisis of the great war. Only the heart is wanting — if it is wanting."

On May 6 the *Tribune* said: " The grand movement has begun. The line from Manassas to Chattanooga is now the great line of attack. The Army of the Potomac has moved across the Rapidan. No news is expected for three or four days. Lee is retreating."

May 7: Fighting near Chancellorsville. Grant seems to have won a victory.

It was noted that the spring trade was heavy and all the merchants were busy.

A map of the Virginia military situation was printed on May 9. " We have reason to thank God, and take courage. Never before have our armies so seriously menaced Richmond. Let us wait events and work while we wait."

May 10: " It is now again ' On to Richmond! ' We have won the first round. For the first time in the war all our available forces are concentrated into one grand combined movement upon the rebel hosts. Grant says he has all the men he needs. Our men at last have all the General they need."

Ten thousand men had enlisted in Illinois during the previous ten days. "But nine days remain. It will be a proud day for the state if the additional ten thousand have enlisted in the allotted time for a share in the unknown but momentous events of the next hundred days. Men of Illinois—to the rescue!"

May 11: The *Tribune* commented on the Battle of Chancellorsville: "From the light before us on Friday's battle, Grant was beaten but did not know it. Instead of retreating, as Lee had expected, he continued toward Richmond, forcing Lee to retreat instead. Lee forgot he was dealing with a second Gen. Taylor, who is never whipped while a battalion remains to be formed in battle array. He has grappled with a bulldog whose close grip can never be loosened except by annihilation."

May 12: (Following six columns of war news) "The army is going forward. If defeated in this battle we feel confident we should only return to the conflict with renewed energy. It is almost literally true that the great North has hardly begun to fight. If this advance movement fails we shall begin another."

"Wildcats are squelched," it was announced, also on May 12. The Board of Trade and many bankers had agreed to buy and sell only in legal tender treasury notes.

The recruiting offices at Kinzie and Clark Streets and at 139 Randolph Street were busy scenes. The Ellsworth Zouaves were coming back into service. Money was needed for the families of the 100-day troops. Potter Palmer donated the profits of one day's sales to this cause. A list of business subscribers to the fund was published and a recruit promised for every $45 subscribed.

May 13: "Our very hearts seem to pause in their beating as we listen, breathless, for the most meager news of the conflict. Grant plays the bolder game. We look for success."

May 14: "The victory in Virginia is more decisive. There

is a general advance by Grant. We are confident the road to Richmond is now open."

This was a day long to be remembered in Chicago.

"We have seen this city excited but never to the degree of yesterday," said a *Tribune* article. "As the dispatches came in giving indications of Grant's victory there were cheers and shouts on the street corners and in front of the newspaper bulletins. The Stars and Stripes were unfurled from every public building and from many business buildings. The *Times* did not for a long time hang out the flag and there was talk of a committee to insist that they should honor the day like their neighbors. In the evening there was a grand display of fireworks at the *Tribune* office in honor of the success of our armies. The Light Guard band discoursed excellent music and for more than an hour the whole central portion of the city was ablaze with rockets and Roman candles."

Colonel R. M. Hough, it was reported, gave Police Commissioner John S. Newhouse "a deserved thrashing." Newhouse, it appeared, was decrying the war news, saying he did not believe it, and generally uttering "Copperhead sentiments." "The Copperheads sang small all day. Not a Copperhead member of the council dared to show himself in the streets."

May 15: More recruiting, war meetings, appeals for funds. "Chicago has furnished men and money in abundance but she can yet give more," said the *Tribune*. "Let it be forthcoming and now. The fate of a nation, of liberty, trembles in the balance."

There was a lull in the war news for two days. Among the real estate sales reported was that of an eighty-foot frontage on South Water Street for $32,000. On Michigan Avenue, south of 18th, a lot 68 by 180 feet went for $5,440. The tendency of prices was up.

May 18: "What imperils Grant? A scarcity of men. What is dwindling down our operations in the Southwest? More men

are wanted. The *Tribune* has again and again pressed the warning. It is more and more imminent. The Hundred Day call is a short loan. Leanness threatens Grant and imperils our holy cause."

Chapter Thirty

A FAKE PROCLAMATION

LINCOLN'S renomination, with the naming of Andrew Johnson of Tennessee as Vice-President, was the chief event of the early summer of 1864. The nomination was taken as a matter of course but the election was another matter. Grant was in need of more men. Sherman was closing the trap around Atlanta. Chicago was full of loafers, according to the *Tribune*.

"Stop fiddling while Rome is burning," said the *Tribune*.

The election of Lincoln, it was considered, depended on the military situation, which at the time was not good.

The Union State Convention was called for May 25 at Springfield. The *Tribune* and the *Staats-Zeitung* were made corporation papers and were awarded the city printing jobs, much to the disgust of the *Times*.

Joe Howard, a New York newspaper man, was revealed as the author of a bogus proclamation attributed to the President. It had been published in the *New York World* and other papers a few days previously. In this fake "proclamation" there was a "call" for a day of fasting, and the President was falsely quoted as declaring that the army had been defeated in Virginia. The "proclamation" demanded 400,000 more troops. Howard is recalled as having been in later years a political columnist for a Chicago morning paper.

An editorial writer for the *Tribune* recalled the time when back in 1861 he had sat by Howard in a telegraph office in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, when Howard had chosen a Scotch cap and military cloak as the costume which Lincoln wore when he slipped into Washington just before the inauguration. Howard, it was stated, also wrote from the Briggs House a daily account of what the Prince of Wales was doing a day's ride away. He wrote four columns on the Battle of Ball's Bluff from a Maryland tavern. He was now in Fort Lafayette. The *Tribune* said that hours after the fabrication was discovered D. H. Craig, head of the New York Associated Press, sent it over the wires and it was printed in many papers.

An Associated Press dispatch from New York stated that an investigation was proceeding and that there was a possibility that the proclamation could be traced to a group of Western news writers, including "White, Hill, and Villard."

The *Tribune* said the "White" referred to was Horace White, their regular correspondent who also "occupied an honorable and confidential post in the War Department." It treated the charges "with ineffable contempt as gratuitous malice on the part of the Associated Press in New York."

The *New York World* and the *Journal of Commerce* in New York were suppressed for three days by the military as a result of publishing the proclamation. The *New York Times* and the *News* had found it a forgery. Craig told the *Times*, the *Tribune* said, that the document was "false as hell." "Why did he send it out later?" the paper wanted to know.

General Sherman, it was reported on May 23, had a chronic dislike for war correspondents. "He will live to see his error and change his prejudiced opinion of the correspondents of the American press."

The *Tribune* complained of "our dusty streets." Street-sprinkling was a matter of private subscription and "dust, interminable dust, is the lot of our citizens."

May 25: Grant moves again toward Richmond — a flank

strike. "He says he will fight it out on this line if it takes all summer."

The *Tribune* was neutral in the contest for the governorship and the Republican Union Convention nominated Richard J. Oglesby, with William Bross for Lieutenant Governor.

"An assemblage of incongruities," commented the *Springfield Register* of this convention. "Deacon Bross and Deacon Hayne, the life-time abolitionist and the quondam Nebraska man, disciples of Calhoun and the followers of Garrison, preachers, and profanity."

The Cairo correspondent sent up a circular of the American Association, Section North, as an instance of Copperhead treason and organization. Governor Seymour in New York took action against the military for the suppression of the *World* and the *Journal of Commerce*. The *Tribune* said the Federal government was not required to apply to state officials for permission to punish crimes, that Seymour was a disciple of "the Calhoun heresy of state sovereignty and national subordination."

There would be no commencement exercises at Illinois College, it was announced on June 1, because the entire senior class had enlisted in the hundred-days call. Twenty-five students went from the University of Chicago.

Alderman J. H. Roberts sued the *Tribune* on June 3 for $20,000 libel. The suit was based on a report of May 31 in which the *Tribune* quoted Alderman Hottinger of the Fourteenth Ward on various bribery efforts that had been made in council matters. One matter mentioned was the city printing job, which the *Tribune* had just obtained. The *Tribune* ran the story under the head "Copperhead corruption," and made no charges of its own.

Medill, Bross, Colbert, and Albert H. Bodman, city hall reporter, were served with summons to appear in the Recorder's Court. The *Tribune* maintained that it was innocent of guilt and malice in the printing of the Alderman's remarks. On

June 4 it stated that the libel suit was condemned by citizens and regarded as a blow to freedom of the press. The general idea, the *Tribune* said, was that Alderman Roberts had been "egged on" by the Jeff Davis organ [the *Times*].

Thieves and pimps ruled the city after nightfall, the *Tribune* said in this issue, commenting that a city with a 24-square-mile area had only three detective police.

Little attention was paid in advance to the Baltimore Convention. On June 7 the *Tribune* said: "Today the representatives of the loyal people of the loyal states meet to choose the standard bearer of the next four years. From near and from afar the people watch and wait, ready to accept, with a cheer that shall ring throughout the land, the name that stands at the portals of millions of loyal lips — Abraham Lincoln."

Alderman Roberts, who had drawn the *Tribune's* astonishment and ire by his libel suit, was attacked in the June 7 issue as having been connected with the "Wabash Gridiron" railway steal, and he was referred to as a "notorious dandy, windy and ambitious." No grand jury would find a true bill in the libel suit, the paper said, and no jury would convict. The alderman aimed to make it criminal libel.

Two columns were given to the Baltimore Convention on June 9. The nomination of Lincoln and Johnson was a foregone conclusion, the *Tribune* said, which in this case meant election. "The nomination of Mr. Lincoln by the National or Union party is the expression of the substantially unanimous voice of the entire people of the United States, so far as they favor the preservation of the Union and the suppression of the rebellion. Traitors will ridicule it. The people will sustain it. The general course of the administration on essential points has been sound, wise and popular and the great heart of Lincoln and the heart of the people beat responsive to each other. Once more, therefore, we triumphantly and hopefully unfurl to the breeze the standard of the Union, with Abraham Lincoln of Illinois as the standard bearer. God bless our Honest Old Abe

and grant him victory over all the Union foes, whether military or political, to the end that the coming four years of his administration may be over a Union wholly free, reunited and peaceful."

A ratification meeting was called for that evening, with Yates, Oglesby, Wentworth, and other speakers.

June 7 dispatches covering the Baltimore Convention were being published on June 10, due to one of the frequent delays in telegraph service.

The *Tribune* took the lead in the West in a dress-reform movement at this time, seeking to curb extravagance and the importation of luxuries.

Colonel John A. Bross, brother of Deacon Bross of the *Tribune*, was reported in Virginia with three battalions of colored troops.

On the need of men the *Tribune* said on June 13: "We need 50,000 for the Southwest and the Mississippi campaign and 75,000 to come to the aid of Grant."

The timidity of Congress was given as one reason for the scarcity of men. "If disaster comes the guilt will fall on the men who have thus betrayed the holy cause."

Vallandigham had returned to Ohio and, according to the *Tribune*, was trying to start an insurrection. Much attention was given to this, and little to the campaign. The political campaign seemed to be regarded as part of the military movements.

Chicago was full of loafers, the *Tribune* said at this time. "They stand about the street corners watching pedestrians. They lounge along the ways, cumbering the sidewalks with their useless carcasses, or display their laziness in the numerous saloons which deck the city."

Graduation exercises were reported at Northwestern University and at the State Normal College. A driving meet was held as usual, but day after day the *Tribune* gave little emphasis to anything but the situation before Petersburg. On June 22

it called attention to the filthy condition of the north branch of the river, due to the presence of distilleries there.

The *Tribune*, *Journal*, *Times* and *Staats-Zeitung* agreed, June 28, on new subscription rates of 25 cents a week for the daily, or $12 a year. The *Tribune* explained that the cost of publication had increased 60 per cent. White paper had gone up from 12½ cents to nearly 20 cents, fuel costs had doubled, and the cost of type setting had gone from 30 to 50 cents per 1,000 ems.

There was a crisis in the Federal treasury in July, the question being whether enough money could be raised by taxation to keep the financial condition stable. There was also a manpower crisis. "There are hundreds if not thousands in Chicago," said the *Tribune* on July 1, "who are able to offer liberally for a representative recruit, and there are thousands of young, able bodied men willing to go. Let this be a movement. Who is the first man to step forward with his recruit?"

Lincoln accepted his renomination in a 250-word letter.

"The history of Mr. Lincoln's action on all the leading measures of his administration," commented the *Tribune*, "is alike in this particular, that he has always inaugurated each one in just the mode and in just the time that in his own opinion it was best. . . . He has always been true to two leading convictions of sentiment, that of devotion to Liberty and devotion to the Union."

Lincoln's decisions, the editor said, were always personal. There was rarely a man so slow to take the opinions of others who sought to force him into action. The *Tribune* editors had had plenty of experience along this line from the day they sought to change his course at the Freeport debate with Douglas.

The reported resignation of Secretary Chase was deplored by the *Tribune*. It thought the appointment of Senator William P. Fessenden of Maine a good one, however. Congress, it said, had refused to follow Chase's advice in passing a tax bill

large enough to maintain national credit, and had also refused to retire wildcat money. Chase was considered the greatest financier of modern times.

The constitutional amendment to prohibit slavery was up for debate in Congress. The New Grace Methodist Episcopal church at Chicago Avenue and LaSalle Street was described on July 2.

There was no public celebration of Independence Day in Chicago that year. The *Tribune* said it had enough of the reality of war to dispense with its artificial semblance. Sherman was twenty miles from Atlanta and the *Tribune* correspondent reported that the "jaws of death" were closing on the rebels. The jaws were the Army of the Cumberland and the Army of Tennessee.

The *Tribune* began a series of articles on how to cleanse the Chicago River, which was described as a paradox. "Intimately identified with the commercial existence of Chicago, in its present condition it perils that existence. On its surface are borne the rich freights of a million argosies; in its bosom lie seeds of disease and death to those on the traffic of its trade."

The *Kearsarge* defeated the *Alabama*, which had been built as a rebel raider in England. The *Tribune* said on July 7 that British sympathizers had a yacht in waiting at Southampton to rescue the discomfited pirate captain. "This opens a new chapter in foreign relations and we had better be firm this time."

The *Tribune* thought that the Union commander should have given the British yacht a broadside or two.

A rebel raid in Maryland was reported on July 8. "We should have had 100,000 well trained troops to pour into the reserve," the paper commented. "We are now resorting to militia and raw levies to oppose the movement of gaunt and war worn rebel veterans. We shall beat them back of course, but it will cost us more, far more, than if we had observed and accepted the omens which warned us long ago that we had not men enough.

"All need to make sacrifices in the spirit of our soldiers. There is no use for money if the government fails. Let every exempt send a man. Safety and peace lie in advance. Sustain the administration in the calls for men soon to be made."

Chapter Thirty-One

CALL FOR STILL MORE MEN

THE SUMMER of 1864 was a soul-trying time, requiring faith in the unseen. Grant and Sherman were apparently unable to deliver final blows at their objectives, Richmond and Atlanta. Civil war in Illinois flared up again. Lincoln called for half a million more men. Illinois must respond, the *Tribune* said, although the state had more than filled its quota. Washington was threatened by the rebels. Petersburg was assaulted, and Union soldiers piled up in death. Chicago held daily funerals, and mourning filled the streets as the list of dead before Atlanta came in. Among the war victims was Colonel John A. Bross, brother of a *Tribune* editor, "Deacon" Bross, who had commanded colored troops.

Many peace efforts were under way. These were branded by the *Tribune* as futile and traitorous. The Democratic Convention, called for Peoria in August, was characterized as a meeting of traitors. A great Union rally was held in Chicago to offset the low spirits of the people.

The Board of Education report for the year showed expenditures of $128,469, with a deficit of $3,454.

Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico, was proceeding from Vera Cruz to Mexico City. The *Tribune* carried a two-column description on July 10, commenting: "He may be safely left to

the elements for discomposure, that will speedily declare themselves. By and by the American eagle will look that way in earnest."

Give Grant time, the *Tribune* said on July 12. "It is wonderful how we accelerate our expectations as we proceed in this war. Two years from the time Grant first drew his sword at the head of the Army of the Mississippi he got another sword from Pemberton at Vicksburg. We thought it worth waiting for."

Communications with Washington were cut by the rebel raid. It was a time of grave anxiety.

"We firmly believe," said an editorial on July 13, "that over-confidence in government and people has been the chief evil our holy cause has had to contend with. We have measured strength with the rebels on the basis of census tables, and have too far left out of account the terrible earnestness which has been theirs in the foul behests of this infamous rebellion. This war will never end in our success until the North is as fiercely zealous for the Union and Liberty as the South is for Slavery and Rebellion. It is humiliating to have the shadow of a doubt whether our capital is safe."

Crops and chinch bugs occupied attention at this time. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was playing at Wood's Museum.

Washington was safe, it was reported on July 16. The *Tribune* editors were "not throwing up rockets," although grieved that Lee's raiders gained horses and food. "Why should we, away here in Illinois, be distressing ourselves about that town, while the people who live within a day's communication of it, in myriads sufficient to eat up Jeff Davis' army, and then still be hungry for breakfast, are so indifferent to capture as to run away with valuables and hide from a few hundred marauders?"

"Everybody in the capital," the editor continued, reflecting Medill's views when he shook the dust of Washington from his feet in an earlier day, "was fed by the government, and

business was partisan and almost of necessity corrupt. Everybody there becomes scheming, dishonest, sycophantic.

"If the rebels take it let the seat of government go to the commercial capital, New York, or to the West, in Cincinnati, Chicago, or St. Louis."

The Nashville correspondent reported on July 17 that Sherman was still advancing. "Many a Georgia maiden," he commented, "will, ere a year has elapsed, thank her stars that some Yankee, whom she had hoped to see slain on the Fourth, was allowed to survive and bless her for life. But enough of this — Mars, not Venus, calls."

The President's call for 500,000 men was made on July 19. They were to serve one year. The draft was to begin at the end of fifty days if there were not enough volunteers. "This call will be filled," said the *Tribune*. "The strain is hard. The trial is severe, but the people are equal to the effort. We are too near the end to fall back into defeat, anarchy and endless civil war. Illinois is far ahead of her quota under all previous calls. Illinois will be called on to do more and will respond. Death to the traitors. To arms all men who wish to preserve the glorious old Union."

A regiment a thousand strong was called for in Chicago, to be formed in thirty days.

It was rumored that Secretary Stanton had resigned. The *Tribune* said it would be pleased with this, with all due credit to Stanton, if Ben Butler could be the successor. "Give us the man, Mr. Lincoln, and not a geographic counterpoise to somebody else in the Cabinet. We can but hope that the next news from Washington will give us Ben Butler standing beside the President and under him directing the war power."

Building activity was on the increase. Wages were high. The cost of bread and steak had doubled during the war. Everybody was busy, and the *Tribune* said the height of prosperity was at hand. Many "handsome villas" were going up on Michigan and Wabash Avenues.

General Lee was said to be ready to take the offensive, and the *Tribune,* on July 22, said the hour was the most dangerous and trying of the war. There were many peace rumors and efforts made toward that end. Horace Greeley met with representatives of the Confederacy at Niagara Falls in a mysterious, unofficial peace talk, of which Lincoln was privately cognizant. The *Tribune* said this was a romance bordering on farce. " The day of compromise with slavery is past. We stand on the eve of final and overwhelming victory. Hear it, ye lords of the lash, who think the barbarism we imported from Guinea is more important than the civilization we brought from Europe."

The paper said that it fought not only rebels but the speculators who bargained with them.

Atlanta was reported in Union possession on July 24. The *Tribune* correspondent wrote his story two miles from that city. Local news was sidetracked during the next few days as details of the Atlanta battle came in. A page was given, however, on July 26, to crop reports of the Northwest, and on the last day of the month a great Copperhead conspiracy was brought to light in St. Louis. The *Tribune* said this story was true, that it was the plan of the Northern Democrats to unite with the rebels to overthrow the government.

Civil war was reported in Montgomery County, Illinois, on the first of August, and the *Tribune* sent a reporter to Hillsboro, where 700 rebels were in camp opposed by 2,000 Union men from Mattoon. The *Tribune* said the traitors should be tried and hanged, if convicted. Complete civil war was not yet at hand in this state, but there was danger. " Let the farmers of our prairies organize for a human wolf hunt."

Funerals in Chicago, long lists of the dead and wounded from the Battle of Atlanta were the news of early August. On August 3 came the announcement that Colonel Bross had been killed. " Already in the history of this war," said the *Tribune,* " two associates of the *Tribune Company* have been called to

mourn the loss of brothers killed in battles of their country. Major Medill of the 8th Illinois Cavalry was the first to fall. Lt. Col. John A. Bross is among the killed in the recent assault before Petersburg. The *Tribune* will not hate this accursed rebellion and its cause less because its blows have fallen upon hearts in our midst."

The Petersburg assault was a failure, and the colored troops under Colonel Bross were sacrificed. They were improperly trained, the *Tribune* said, underofficered, but brave.

A report of the meeting of Western publishers in Detroit was carried on August 6. Medill was the permanent secretary of this association. It became the Western Associated Press, with headquarters in Cleveland. Medill was one of the first directors. Scripps, at this meeting, started an investigation of the possibility of making paper from wood, and it was suggested that plans for a mill be drawn up. A measure proposed by Medill, that the papers adopt a uniform width of columns, was adopted. The sore question of better news arrangements with the New York Associated Press was left to the directors.

The *Tribune* during this period urged the people to invest in government securities, declaring that a national debt was a good thing and that such investment gave the people a stake in defending the government.

Two hundred prostitutes held an indignation meeting on the lake shore near Adams Street, following a police order to move from the city. Eighty of them went to Milwaukee.

Farragut's victory before the forts of Mobile was hailed on August 9. Governor Yates said the Illinois quota under the new call was 16,182 men. The Cook County quota was 4,920, it was announced.

"Let the work begin today," said the *Tribune* on August 13. "Chicago is loyal to the core, has prospered as a city beyond all precedent and has even found that the disturbances and troubles in less well favored centers of trade have poured fresh wealth in her lap."

Chapter Thirty-Two

GROANS FOR THE *TRIBUNE* — THANKS!

The Presidential campaign, the coming of the draft to Cook County, the questioning of the justice of the county's quota of men, and the fall of Atlanta were the chief topics of interest in the *Tribune* during the early fall of 1864.

The quota question was especially pressing and Medill was made one of the committee to settle it. The quota was based, it was found, on a false enrollment of voters, or eligibles. Despite the unfairness of the quota, the *Tribune* insisted from the first that it must be filled. This led to a dramatic meeting in the following spring of Medill and other Chicago committeemen with President Lincoln at the White House, a meeting of which Ida Tarbell and other historians have given accounts.

In September the Democrats nominated George B. McClellan for President. The *Tribune* at once began a vigorous campaign against the party and the candidate. The effects of the fall of Atlanta upon the political prospects of Lincoln, which had not seemed good, were not apparent at once, although the *Tribune* editors coupled the military and the political campaign into one effort, calling for a last mighty response of the people at the polls for Lincoln and before the guns of the enemy.

Editorials urging the re-election of Lincoln and recruiting were carried almost daily. The Cook County quota, however, was questioned on August 14. The records showed an excess of 5,086 on March 23.

"There is something wrong here," said the *Tribune*. "This

county stands ready to honor all just and equitable drafts on her loyalty, but is not quite prepared to pay other people's debts. All our citizens want is fair play and no favors."

The quota became the leading item of home interest. The Board of Supervisors held frequent meetings. A citizens' committee was formed. The *Tribune* urged at this time that the enrollment lists be purged of aliens, cripples, nonresidents, etc., in order that the quota be corrected. This matter was taken up by a citizens' committee. A special committee of three was appointed to straighten out the matter, but it was not settled until the following spring when Medill and others went to see Lincoln.

On August 19 a memorial meeting was held for Colonel Bross, by the Chicago Bar Association. The body had been buried behind the rebel lines.

A back-page item on August 20 stated that "the great Copperhead convention [Democratic] will commence its sessions in this city on August 29. It is the birthday of the traitor, Benedict Arnold. There is a sort of fitness in this selection. There is little doubt that the platform that will be adopted by that body will be little short of treason."

The *Tribune* of August 21 was issued from a new eight-cylinder press made by R. M. Hoe. This was duly chronicled in the paper, with a cut of the press accompanying a 20,000-word history of the *Tribune* from its foundation to this date. The history of the *Democratic-Press* was included in this. "As the history of the *Tribune*," it was stated, "largely involved the history of Chicago, with allusion to events of the past and to the pioneers of the city, it is believed it will be of interest to the general reader as well as to the immediate friends of the paper. Our press is now in full and successful operation and we extend an invitation to our friends and patrons, curious in such matters, to call and see it. Our friends in the country will find the latchstring out on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons, at which time the weekly is worked off."

Labor was restless and organizers were busy in Chicago. After what was described as a "Copperhead labor gathering" at Bryan Hall the *Tribune* said: "This paper has a position which makes it independent of any particular class of men. It advocates what its editors believe to be the best interests of the whole people. While from the nature of things it has no hatred toward the rich, its sympathies are decidedly with labor and the laboring men. Twenty-five years ago the combined capital of all its editors and proprietors would not have purchased the smallest of our printing presses. Whatever the *Tribune* possesses is due entirely to the honest industry of those who own it. The man who sets the type that gives this thought to the reader, or his son, is just as likely to be the editor and the largest proprietor of the *Tribune* twenty or forty years hence as any one of us was forty years ago."

At a draft meeting on August 24, Medill presented figures showing 5,000 to 6,000 extra names on the enrollment lists.

The *Tribune's* first full-page ad was run on August 25. This was an unadorned repetition of the virtues of Hemhold's Fluid Extract Buchu and Improved Rose Wash. One column was simply repeated nine times to make up the ad.

The *Campaign Tribune* was announced. "Every patriotic citizen will labor unceasingly to elect Union national and state tickets. To do this is to save the nation; to fail is to yield all we hold dear to the Copperhead allies of the rebellion. Such a fearful calamity can — it must be averted. As an auxiliary to this, no agency is more effective than the newspaper, and therefore in accordance with our usual custom, we offer the *Campaign Weekly Tribune* to Union men of this and adjoining states." The price was 25 cents for seven weeks, with club rates.

The hotels were filled with Democrats, it was reported on August 27. William B. Ogden, Chicago's industrial leader and railroad builder, was mentioned as a candidate for Vice-Presi-

dent. The great Ohio "martyr," Vallandigham, was on hand, making speeches in Courthouse Square. Sunset Cox, designated as another Copperhead leader, was also there.

"Free speech for all," said the *Tribune*. "Some are patriotic but others are in favor of dissolution, a disunion peace. Let them stand on their own record."

On Saturday night, August 28, all was "confusion twice confounded," the paper reported. "Yells, howls, cheers, groans for the *Tribune*, for which we return thanks. Have a good time. Make all the noise you please, but give us a candidate, as speedily as possible. We have nothing to fight until you do. You waste your time groaning at the *Tribune*."

The quota committee of citizens decided to send representatives to Washington. Colonel S. L. Hancock, president of the Board of Trade, returned from Springfield with the information that the proper figures would make the Cook County deficit about 2,000 men instead of twice that number. He suggested that Washington be asked for a postponement of the draft.

The peace speeches of the Copperhead orators at the National Convention were making votes for Lincoln, in the opinion of the *Tribune*. Since Friday, it was stated, more than one hundred orations had been made before Chicago crowds, the burden of them denunciation of the President and of the war and a furious demand for a cessation of hostilities. The paper gave a full but highly prejudiced account of the convention proceedings. On August 31 it was stated: "Chicago has for some days been polluted with the utterances of imported demagogues. Now let the voice of the loyal Northwest be heard and a tornado of enthusiasm for Union and Liberty will sweep the foul vapor of corrupted Democracy from our political atmosphere."

A meeting for Lincoln and the Union was announced for the next day.

The Democratic ticket, George B. McClellan and George H. Pendleton, and the platform were announced on September 1.

Preservation of the Federal Union and the rights of states were stated as objectives of the Democratic party. Four years of war, it was declared in the platform, had failed to restore the Union, while liberty and rights had been trodden down. An armistice and a peace convention were called for.

The *Tribune* at once began to print speeches and letters of McClellan, showing that he was not in sympathy with this platform, that he had advocated emancipation, the draft and concentration of military power.

"Let the work of the campaign commence today," the paper urged. "Let it be entered into by government and people. The part of the former will be to hold the weapons of war firmly to the throats of the traitors everywhere, to everywhere tighten the machinery for crushing the rebellion; and it will find the people at its back. Six months yet remain to the administration to finish up the work and the crumbling Confederacy may be ground to powder by that time, if the process in operation be firmly sustained. This is the campaign work in 1864, and it will not only give us victory over rebels in the field but bring to confusion in the vote in November the enemies of loyalty in the North."

The Democratic platform was denounced as "the grand inaugural of Northern treason, the initiative step to Northern rebellion, the announcement of a plot to unite with the other wing of their party in the South under the combined leadership of McClellan and Jeff Davis for the success of the rebellion and the overthrow of the government."

The paper issued as the best campaign document, five days after the convention, selections of speeches and parts of the Democratic platform. This was on the theory that the Copperheads would thus hang themselves. "Let Union men circulate it everywhere and especially among the boys in the army,"

suggested the *Tribune*. The "gems" were collected chiefly from the *Times*.

Details of the Atlanta victory were given on September 4 and on several days thereafter. The people were wild with excitement. A big Union meeting was held in Freeport, opening the campaign. General Oglesby was the chief speaker. The legends read, "No Union with Slavery – We Will Conquer a Peace." "We Go for Old Abe, the Two Dicks [Oglesby and Yates] and the Deacon [Bross]."

"Union men, the dark days are over," said the *Tribune* on September 5. "We see our way out. The gallant boys in blue have given the keynote. Now is the time to strike. Close up the ranks. Forward march. Thanks be to God the Republic is safe."

Chicago beats the world in another particular, it was announced on September 9. This was the fire alarm and police telegraph system, which had just been started with 116 signal boxes.

Grant's letter to Congressman Washburne was featured on the first page, with index hands pointing to it, on September 10. This had been written August 16 and read: "All that is needed to insure early restoration of the Union is a determined sentiment in the North." The election of a peace candidate would be in the nature of a counterrevolution, Grant held, adding: "The end is not far distant if we are only true to ourselves."

The Chicago labor market was in an excited state and the *Tribune*, on September 11, printed on the first page Medill's address to the Typographical Union on the subject of the relations between capital and labor. "We are sorry," the *Tribune* said, "to witness the efforts of a couple of demagogues who are striving to make their living without labor, to foment dissensions between the mechanics of the city and their employers, by attempting to make one class believe that the other is their natural enemy. There is no antagonism between capital and labor and there should be no quarrel. Both relations are governed by fixed laws of trade which neither can disregard or evade,

and the demagogue who teaches the contrary teaches a falsehood."

On the election the *Tribune* said: "No matter if Mr. Lincoln is perfect or imperfect, fast or slow, good looking or plain, is grave or tells stories, fierce or amiable, he was chosen President of the United States; and we are for fighting the thing through till he is acknowledged; and for voting it through while the need of voting occurs."

The cornerstone of the new Chamber of Commerce Building was laid on September 11, with the Masonic fraternity in charge. The grand master looked forward to the day when the building would be finished, the rebellion crushed, and the city and nation advanced in a glorious new day of united Christian civilization.

The *Tribune* was urging Chicago each day to fill its quota, and particularly to subscribe to the war fund out of which $300 was paid to each recruit. There were hundreds of idle young men in the city, it was stated.

County scrip to pay the bounty was cited as a good ten per cent investment. "The draft is here next week if we do not fill our quota. Cook County has never had a draft."

On September 15, 1864, it was stated that loyal men were ready for the draft. Union meetings were being held. "Our voice is for the soldiers to come home to vote," said the *Tribune* on September 16. It was explained that all the Northern states but Illinois and Indiana had made such provision. The soldiers could not vote out of the state, so the *Tribune* wanted them to be given a brief furlough for this purpose.

The political contest between "Long John" Wentworth, Union candidate, and Cyrus H. McCormick, owner of the *Chicago Times*, in the fight for a Congressional seat was of interest to the *Tribune*, which supported Wentworth and opposed McCormick. Some measure of the intensity of the *Tribune's* hostility to McCormick may be found in its editorial of September 21, which said:

The *Chicago Times* is fearful that people will lose sight of the enormous debt which the Northwest owes to C. H. McCormick, and thereby fail to elect him to Congress. The obligation of the Northwest, or of any other section, or country, to Mr. McCormick on account of the patent reaper, is small enough, and has been paid ten times over in cash. We will not go into the early history of the reel of the Virginia reaper, or inquire whether the person who has received all the pay for it really invented it or not. The traditions of Rockbridge County are very conflicting on this point. Probably as many people can be found there to swear that he invented nothing at all as that he invented the reaper which is associated with his name. But we let that pass, and turn to facts which are matters of record within a stone's throw of us.

Mr. C. H. McCormick, in his efforts to make a reaping machine, pirated the invention of a poor New York mechanic named Obed Hussey. This invention was by far the most ingenious and valuable portion of "McCormick's Reaper," viz: the cutter. Mr. Hussey invented the remarkable arrangement of the zigzag sickle, running within iron fingers, which annually mows down the grain and hay crops of a large portion of the world. Mr. Hussey was poor and perhaps imperfectly acquainted with his own rights in the premises. So Mr. McCormick stole it from him and called it his own. With it he built up an immense fortune, and made himself famous all through Christendom, while Mr. Hussey yet remained poor. By and by, Mr. Hussey became rich enough to assert his rights. He appealed to the laws of his country, and in a suit of almost unexampled length and magnitude, in which Mr. McCormick employed about a dozen of the ablest lawyers of the United States, Obed Hussey established his claim before the world. He proved Mr. McCormick to be an impostor, and a pirate upon other men's toil and brains. He obtained a decree of the United States Circuit Court, Judge McLean presiding, in this city, assessing heavy damages upon McCormick for the use of the cutter, and a percentage upon all future machines which he should make with Mr. Hussey's invention.

If Mr. McCormick invented anything, he invented the reel which bends the grain over against the cutter. For this he was long ago paid in full, and a balance of some millions has been carried to the credit of the people on account of it. Hussey's cutter is a great and valuable invention without McCormick's reel. McCormick's reel is worthless without Hussey's cutter. Obed Hussey

did not live long enough to enjoy the full reward of his great and beneficent invention. He left a name unstained by one dishonorable act, and if the people are called on now to elect anybody to Congress as a reward for the reaping machine, let them find one of the heirs of the New York mechanic who enriched the whole country, but enriched no one so much as the man whom we are now asked to vote for to show our gratitude for the patent reaper.

This particular campaign was fought bitterly, involving also charges that McCormick had contributed little to the war fund. The paper, which had opposed "Long John" on previous occasions, said: "In the course of his harangue to the crowd at the Courthouse, night before last, on the subject of cashing county orders, Ald. Comisky charged that John Wentworth and Cyrus H. McCormick, opposing candidates for Congress, had done little or nothing for the war fund. We are confident Mr. Wentworth stands ready to subscribe in proportion to his means. Can as much be said in behalf of McCormick? Mr. Wentworth's property is mainly in the shape of unproductive real estate in the vicinity of Bridgeport, on which he pays heavy taxes and receives little or no income. . . . On the other hand Mr. McCormick is a man of vast wealth. He is reported to be worth from three to five millions. His cash income exceeds $2,000 per day, it is reported. He made in one operation last year by the rise in iron six hundred thousand dollars. He has invested in real estate speculations half a million or more in this city during the present season. His agents in the country are continually on the lookout for opportunities to loan money at high rates on cutthroat mortgages to farmers. No man in Illinois possesses so much ready means as the Copperhead candidate, and no man of means has done so little for the soldiers during the war. It is entirely within McCormick's pecuniary ability to advance to the county the half million dollars required to pay volunteers, and if his love of the Union and the Old Flag was equal to his affection for the rebellion and the slave-holding aristocracy, he

would step forward and draw his check for the money and save holders of the scrip from being robbed by sharks and shavers."

In an editorial entitled "Reapers" the *Tribune*, on October 5, reiterated its charge that Cyrus H. McCormick was not the actual inventor of the reaper. It said: "Some weeks ago the *Chicago Times* promised to furnish a mess of 'documentary evidence' to prove that Mr. C. H. McCormick is the inventor of the reaping machine, and that he had established his claim in every tribunal where it had ever been denied. We have called for that documentary evidence several times since the promise was made, but it does not come. We have proved that Mr. McCormick took the most valuable part of the reaping machine from Obed Hussey, and that the United States Circuit Court ordered him to pay for it, and enjoined him from robbing Mr. Hussey thereafter. We have proposed to show, from equally authentic records, where Mr. McCormick picked up the remainder of the machine, when the documentary evidence of the *Times* should be given to the public. One might infer that no haste was being exhibited on the other side to bring on the issue. Very well. Least said soonest mended!"

The result of this congressional fight was a victory for Wentworth in November.

Sheridan's victory in the Shenandoah Valley was heralded on September 22. "This opens the fall campaigns," said the *Tribune*. "We must promptly and speedily enforce the draft to make the next ten weeks end in victory, else we will have a terror such as in the darkest days of the French Revolution."

Recruiting was slow and the draft was coming, the *Tribune* said. "Men must be had to finish the war and there will be fighting to do after Richmond is ours."

The 13th Volunteers, the 100-day boys, returned home and were "feted by the ladies." "How long will the draft be needed?" the *Tribune* asked. "We think not long. The shad-

ows are lifted. From Atlanta came up a short time ago the boom of cannon which heralded the margin of day and now from the valley of the Shenandoah we hear the silver trump of the angel of peace."

Chapter Thirty-Three

LINCOLN VICTOR AGAIN

THE SECOND Lincoln campaign, which received its greatest support from the activities of Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan, who made steady if not decisive progress toward crushing the last rebel armies, ended successfully in the fall of 1864. A widespread "Copperhead plot" was discovered and stopped. The "Old Guard" of Republican pioneers, roused to action again, rode to victory in Illinois and the West.

The Presidential campaign was carried on at the same time as the draft, which proceeded in good order on September 27. Want ads appeared on page 1 of the *Tribune* in which firms offered to supply drafted men with substitutes.

In the same issue an editorial on "Our Country's Future," said:

For a hundred years to come historians will be engaged in placing in their true light events now transpiring. For a century to come military skill will consist of a knowledge in the changes in military science now being wrought.

Republican statesmanship will consist of a thorough acquaintance with the principles of government now being contended for and settled in battle. We are living in times that try men's souls. Half a century hence to have lived in this age will be fame. To have served it well will be immortality. Think of this and when

you cast your vote in November vote for the unity of the Republic, the rights of man and for the only candidates who represent them — Abraham Lincoln of Illinois and Andrew Johnson of Tennessee.

The draft was in progress in October and the Sanitary Commission called on all to give a day's labor or income to the sick and wounded soldiers. The effect of McClellan's election, said the *Tribune* on October 1 would be that the armies would be discouraged and demoralized and the war declared a failure. There would be a disunion peace. The essence of the Chicago platform would be, "we are whipped." A rebel raid threatened at Belleville, Illinois, but the great theater of the war was in Virginia.

Correspondent "Bod" from "Egypt" told of traveling on a train with a group of Woodford County conscripts. The Union men were called on to cheer for Lincoln but the greater volume of cheers was for Jeff Davis and "Little Mac." Men with Negro substitutes found the price raised from $200 to $800 at Springfield, and "Bod" rejoiced that the "Copperheads" had to go into the army themselves. An organized rebellion had been nipped by the authorities. There were bank failures and financial panic. A near riot occurred in Chicago at the closing of the Western Marine and Fire Insurance Bank. A stranger was robbed of $1,000 in Wells Street's low haunts. The designs for Crosby's new opera house were complete.

"The present embarrassment of bankers and merchants," said the *Tribune* on October 3, "grows out of the cheery prospect for the speedy overthrow of the rebellion. Men would persist in betting against Uncle Sam despite all our warnings. Time and again we admonished our commercial readers not to venture into speculation of any kind predicated on a further rise in gold or disaster to our national arms. Our faith in the ultimate triumph of the Republic over all its foes has never ceased, however dark and dubious the signs of the times. Men will learn by bitter experience it is a losing game to bet against

the government, to do business on the theory that Jeff Davis is going to win and the great American Republic is destined to succumb to the assaults of traitors."

This ad appeared on page 1 on October 4:

"Lincoln Hirelings — Three able bodied young men now on salaries of $75 a month in this city will represent any three citizens of Chicago or Cook County at the front for one year for $1,000 each to be paid on muster in. One of us has served three years. Address J. R., Chicago Type Foundry."

Union mass meetings were being held in southern Illinois, with "Deacon" Bross as one of the pep speakers.

"McClellan is a weak man, the puppet of manipulators," said the *Tribune*. "He would attempt to coax the rebels back into the Union. His party would not let him go on with the war. The rebels would be let in on the theory that all men have the right to choose the kind of government they want to live under. The nation would be humbled, divided, ruined."

Straw votes showed that the people favored Lincoln.

Letters of the late Senator Douglas proved popular and effective campaign documents, and the *Tribune*, which had spent so many years in opposing the late "Little Giant," now printed his appeal for the Union and the Constitution and circulated it in pamphlet form, particularly in the army.

A big Union mass meeting was held in Springfield, at which Logan, Trumbull, Yates, and Bross were the chief speakers. "Dick and the Deacon," "Lincoln and Johnson," "No compromise with traitors," were signs in the torchlight parade.

The *Tribune* printed a one-page review of the Chickahominy campaign by Brigadier General Gil G. Bernard, showing McClellan irresolute and accusing him of cowardice, untruthful reports and false accusations. Robert G. Ingersoll of Peoria spoke at a Union rally at Bryan Hall. A cut was printed showing the plans for the Chamber of Commerce Building in course of erection at Washington and La Salle Streets. The *Weekly Tribune*, it was announced on October 11, had the

largest and best circulation of any weekly journal in the West. "It is safe to say that every ad which appears in a single edition of the *Weekly Tribune* will have at least 100,000 readers."

A battle was near in Virginia and 4:30 a.m. dispatches, headed "Postscript," were featured in the daily editions.

"The path of the rebellion is now downward," said the *Tribune* on October 12 after the early state election returns. "It has appealed to the people and the people have sealed its doom. New Hampshire, Vermont, Maine, Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania have each decreed the doom of the peace sneakers. The voice of the people is still for war until the last rebel has laid down his arms."

The death of Chief Justice Roger B. Taney of Dred Scott fame gave the *Tribune* an opportunity to support Salmon P. Chase for this position. His brilliant record in the Treasury was cited on October 15.

"Northern Illinois belongs to the Old Guard of the Republican party," the *Tribune* argued on October 18, citing the record of 1854, 1856, 1858, and 1860 at the polls. They lost in 1862, it was stated, because the soldiers were away. "We appeal to them now for November 8. There is time enough to shake up every school district in the northern half of the state and it must be done. We call on the working organizations of the Republican pioneers. The question is whether to throw down our arms at the very threshold of victory or fight the impious rebellion to the death. The re-election of Lincoln is the heaviest stroke that loyal men can deal. Get down to work. Bring every voter to the polls."

An official exposé of a conspiracy to form a Northwestern Confederacy was printed on October 20 and 21. Vallandigham was called the prime commander of the participants, the Knights of the Golden Circle, the American Knights, and the Sons of Liberty.

Sheridan was riding in the Shenandoah, devastating the countryside as he went. To complaints of the cruelty of this,

the *Tribune* answered that this was a war necessity. Sheridan's famous ride from Winchester, changing defeat into victory, was featured. He had brought a new tactic to the war, the *Tribune* said, "cavalry charges at the proper time and place, while the contest is at its height. He puts them into the thickest of the fray, like Napoleon."

On the report of Judge Advocate General J. Holt on the Vallandigham conspiracy, the *Tribune* said: "Although exposed and impeded, the plot is still going on. We are amazed at the utter and wide spread profligacy, personal and political, which these movements against the government disclose." It was all traced back to the "insolent fury" of the slave holders.

A Union mass meeting of Germans was held at Turner Hall on October 23, and the *Tribune* reporter observed: "In the galleries we noticed a large number of fair ladies, whose sparkling eyes and enthusiastic faces lent charm to the proceedings which otherwise would have been wanting. Base Copperheads eyed the vast assemblage with envious disgust. All honor to our German fellow citizens. Their votes next November shall swell the overwhelming majority to be cast for the Union and Freedom."

The Northwestern Wide Awakes, the Great Western Light Guard Band, and the 24th Illinois Infantry were at the meeting. Transparencies were for "Abe and Andy," and "Dick and the Deacon." Lieutenant Governor Hoffman, Gustave Koerner, and John Wentworth were the speakers.

On October 24, the Union flag again waved on page 1. "Victory. The West responds to the thunders of Sheridan's cannon. Glorious day in Kansas and Missouri. Price beaten and retreating."

The *Weekly Tribune* of this period was a forerunner of the modern news reviews. It contained a résumé of the news of the week, special features, such as a story by Dickens, a market review, foreign news, and political articles.

"The Old Guard is up and doing," said the *Tribune* of No-

Chicago Tribune.

VOL. XVIII. CHICAGO, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1864. [illegible]

NEWS BY TELEGRAPH.

A VICTORY OF GIGANTIC PROPORTIONS

Re-Election of Abraham Lincoln.

THE PEOPLE FOR THE WAR UNTO THE END.

The Peace Sneaks Utterly Destroyed.

POSITIVE RESULTS OF A COMPLETE VICTORY.

State Answering to Plate in a Case of Loyalty.

OLD BOYS IN BLUE SURPRISED.

The United States With the Exception.

ILLINOIS A CLEAN SWEEP FOR THE UNION.

Nine Congressmen and the Whole Union State Ticket Carried.

THE PRAIRIE SNAKE TO HONEY BEE SOLD.

Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania In Line—Other States Wavering.

NEW YORK AND NEW ENGLAND DUE TO LINCOLN.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

vember 1. "The work of the campaign is being done as it should be done, for men are putting their own shoulders to the wheel instead of calling on Jupiter to help them out of the mud. The verdict of November 8 is more important than 500,000 soldiers."

The flag appeared on page 1 of the November 5 issue, with this statement, signed by the Union Campaign Committee: "On Tuesday next the destiny of the American Republic is to be settled. We appeal to Union men. We appeal to merchants to close their stores, manufacturers to permit their clerks and laborers to go to the polls, the Board of Trade to close, the Union Leagues and Wide Awakes to come out. The rebellion must be put down."

The returns of the election were meager on November 9, but the *Tribune* said that the general result was a Copperhead defeat. "The people are at the back of the government and will sustain it. The whole traitor pack is rebuked and crushed out. The sinking of the rebellion is accomplished and its downward flight is toward doom."

"Mr. Lincoln re-elected," was the big news. Chicago gave a majority for Lincoln and Johnson, and for Oglesby and Bross, exceeding the majority of 1860. The state majority was estimated at 30,000. Five Congressional seats had been gained.

In telegraph news columns, where the Union flag again waved, the paper said: "The People to the Army — Greeting. Sherman carrying Election returns to Charleston. The last act of the drama of the rebellion begins."

Professor Lieber of the history department of Columbia College, New York, was quoted as saying that the re-election of Lincoln would be one of the most remarkable facts in all history. "The thinking historian," he wrote, "will put his finger on this passage and say 'Friends, this is astonishing; this is a remarkable people.'"

A Union celebration was held in Chicago, John V. Farwell presiding. "This is God's war," he said, "not Abraham Lin-

coln's or Gen. McClellan's, and when it is over not a single slave will be held in bondage in this country; we must thank God for the victory and condemn the Copperheads."

Chapter Thirty-Four

MEDILL VISITS LINCOLN

THE CLOSING weeks of 1864 brought the news of Sherman's successful march across the South from Atlanta to Savannah, cutting off the rebel supplies and hastening the end of the war. This victory, with the re-election of Lincoln, led the *Tribune* to approach the new year with high hopes of ending the conflict and rebuilding the nation nearer to the heart's desire of the editors. There was another call for troops, however, and the movement into the army was slow. The vexing question of Cook County's enrollment and what it owed the government in men came up again for discussion.

At Camp Douglas, on Cottage Grove Avenue, there were now 9,000 Confederate prisoners, guarded by 700 Union soldiers. On the eve of the election, while riding on a street car, " Deacon " Bross overheard strangers talking of a plan for the liberation of prisoners at Douglas and other camps and a general uprising of the Northwest Copperheads. On the Sunday before the election, the *Tribune* said on November 11, Chicago had stood on the brink of ruin. Bross reported to Colonel B. J. Sweet, Camp commander, what he had seen and heard and the plot was nipped in the bud. Copperhead nests were searched for several days and many arrests and seizures of arms made. The exposure of this plot by the *Tribune* stirred the people to

action. Home guards were organized and more soldiers were sent to guard the various prison camps.

Constitutional amendments were needed, the *Tribune* stated on November 14, " to invigorate the government without impairing the liberty of the people."

The following objectives were suggested:

1 — " The bloody heresy of state sovereignty, the right of secession, must be buried forever beyond the reach of line or plummet.

2 — " An amendment to guarantee the freedom of speech and the press in the states. Events have proved that the danger to this freedom is from the states, not the Federal government. The slave states have suppressed all free advocacy."

A national currency and a national bank were also advocated, a six-year term for the President, with no re-election, and a shortening of the time between election and inauguration.

A new skirt for 1864 was advertised on the first page on November 17. It was " a new and great invention in hoop skirts — a duplex elliptic or double steel spring."

Sherman had been lost in the South after the capture of Atlanta. He was on an expedition with only one wagon to a regiment, cut off from supplies, carrying salt and hardtack.

The *Tribune* attacked Cyrus H. McCormick's proposal to call a national Democratic convention to formulate a peace proposal. This was a plot to save slavery, said the *Tribune.* " McCormick is a devotee of man-selling."

The paper's prospectus for 1865 stated:

No submission to traitors. The Union must and shall be preserved. The great Union party has just achieved the most important and glorious triumph in the re-election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency. These coming four years will make more history than ever was allotted to any like period. Its more striking features will embrace the crushing of the rebellion by the power of the sword, the restoration of The Union and the freedom of every

slave that treads American soil. For these measures the people have declared in thunder tones and their emphatic voice will be obeyed.

This well known and popular journal is noted for avowing its sentiments with candor, fearlessness and independence. It aims to be Right rather than popular, and takes the responsibility of telling the Truth, regardless of the offense that may be given to Prejudice and Ignorance. The principles and objects which the *Tribune* espouses are:

The cause of freedom, justice and humanity, perpetuity of the Union, obedience to the Constitution and the supremacy of the laws. A denial of the right of a rebel to hold any loyal person in slavery, and an affirmance that rebels have no right under the Constitution until they first observe it. And the prosecution of the war against Treason until the authority of the government be established over the whole Union. There must be no faltering, no steps backward.

We have an abiding faith that the ensuing year will witness the complete overthrow of the rebel confederacy. During the last year great victories have been won and a territory larger than France or Germany has been wrested from the rebels and restored to the Union. One more campaign by sea and land will close forever the fountains of sedition and cruel war.

Modestly the paper reiterated its aim always to be a first-class newspaper, as it had been for a decade. The terms were $12 a year for the daily. The want ads, appearing on the fourth and last page, were now running about three columns a day.

"Where is Sherman?" the *Tribune* wanted to know on November 19. A Sabbath School Convention was given two columns and a campaign was begun to abolish the Illinois "Black Laws."

New peace rumors were reported on November 20, but the *Tribune* said "we must continue to execute the will of the people that the war continue until the Union is restored."

The growth of the arts in Chicago was chronicled in a story of the artists and their exhibitions. Home opera was to start at McVicker's Theater in a week.

Provisions for the sick and poor in Chicago were inadequate,

the *Tribune* said on November 22. There was a pesthouse and one physician, a poorhouse and one physician and one hospital, the Mercy. "It is idle to talk of moral reform while the physical is neglected." Aid was also sought for the Chicago Historical Society.

A page was given to the activities of the United States Christian Commission on November 23. J. V. Farwell, the chairman, scolded the Copperheads for attacking the Commission. He said that 98 per cent of the Catholics supported the Copperheads but the Republican press did not assail the Catholic clergy. Without the support of the Catholic Church, it was stated in Mr. Farwell's article, the Copperheads could not carry a county in the free states.

"Chicago is thriving and Atlanta has been burned," said the *Tribune* of November 27. "We are building us long ranges of blocks that are turning our business streets into rows of palaces and our residence quarters are dotted thick with fast springing homes."

Guessing about Sherman's march beyond Atlanta continued during the early part of December. He was lost except for reports in Southern papers, which were reprinted. A map of the country where he was marching appeared and the *Tribune* declared he could take Savannah. "The rebel hordes have but one outlet, across to Texas, if they can get there, and another year will see the end of the rebellion."

A bounty of $100 was granted to each recruit credited to Cook County, but the *Tribune* said on December 4 that "the people were not moving, we are doing nothing, money is not forthcoming to pay bounties and the committee is paralyzed for want of help."

The *Tribune* claimed at this time that the enrollment list was incorrect, that instead of 40,000 there should have been only 25,000 or 27,000 on the list. "We claim we are called on for 37 per cent more men than we really possessed, that we have really donated 2,000 men to the government at this time.

Now let us get to work." On December 7 a standing organization was called for to keep recruiting busy. The first news of Sherman's march to the sea was printed on December 10, 1864. This came from the *Richmond Examiner*, which reported him near the sea after twenty-three days of silence. On December 14 he was reported fifteen miles west of Savannah.

A column of comment from outside papers on the *Tribune's* prospectus was given on December 15. From the *Grand Rapids* (Mich.) *Eagle:* "The *Chicago Tribune* is beyond dispute the leading paper of the Northwest." From the *Jacksonville* (Ill.) *Journal:* "The *Chicago Tribune* is decidedly the ablest, most sterling paper in the West and we think in the United States. It undoubtedly exercises a controlling influence in the affairs of the country second to no other journal." From the *Rockford* (Ill.) *Reporter:* "In the first year of the rebellion the *Tribune* saw with prophetic eye the necessities of the situation, and, acting on its convictions, started boldly forth on a path which the people hesitated to follow. It declared that Slavery must die that the nation might live. Two years of unsuccessful war, waged for the suppression of the rebellion and the preservation of slavery, educated the people to the *Tribune* standpoint and they were ready for freedom and the arming of the slaves. The course the *Tribune* so early indicated is now accepted and adopted by government and people, and we are a nation of abolitionists. The *Tribune* is a power in the Northwest and probably in shaping public opinion with regard to the means best adapted to preserve and perpetuate the Union, has been as effective against the rebellion as an army corps in the field. The pen is mightier than the sword."

From the *Toulon* (Ill.) *News:* "The *Tribune* occupies no middle ground in matters of national policy and general interest; and by its bold, fearless and independent course in such matters, may sometimes frighten the timid and faltering; but we find it almost invariably right in the end. It cannot fail to be so, being ever true to the cause of freedom, and the political

and commercial interests of the West. It is a reliable paper — and we do not hesitate to say that great events — whether political or military, are more truthfully foreshadowed in its columns than in any other paper in the country. This is saying a great deal but constant readers of the sheet will sanction every word of it."

A Freedmen's Fair was opened in Chicago on December 20, with Theodore Tilton of New York in charge. The *Tribune* recalled that thirty years earlier Chicago was of logs, fifteen years ago of wood, and now " it is being transmuted rapidly into brick and brown stone, marble and iron. It has become within the past year the fourth city in the Union in population and second in commerce. In lumber, beef, pork and grain it is the largest market in the world."

A new call for 300,000 troops was announced on December 21.

A special dispatch was printed on Sherman's march to the sea. " The great march has ended and has been in all respects a most brilliant and successful one. The hopes of the West now center by the sea. As the Pilgrims landed and sent liberty and a glorious form of nationality westward, along their northern lines of march, so the West has sounded back to the ocean again that sublime hymn of universal freedom which our Fathers sang on Plymouth Rock when they dedicated this continent to God."

" As evidence of the condition of the loyal states of the North, in this fourth year of the war," said the *Tribune* on December 23, " we should like to place the *Chicago Tribune* of this morning beside some pinched and dingy sheet of the rebel capital."

There were two and a half columns of news on the front page. Ads for clothing, books, and gifts were crowding the paper. The old flag again accompanied the telegraph news of December 26 on the *Tribune's* first page. " Sherman's Christmas Gift to the President. Savannah has Fallen."

Medill was in Washington where he talked with the President. He reported him " in splendid spirits, feeling fine, overflowing with good humor and the milk of human kindness. He is very hopeful that the carnage of blood and desolation will soon cease by the rebels laying down their arms and obeying the Constitution and the laws just as do all the rest of the people. Grant's grand and profound military operations are now beginning to develop themselves."

Lincoln told Medill the story of Bill Sykes' dog down in Beardstown, Illinois, after it had been fed with a meal loaded with a lighted powder fuse. " That dog as a dog won't be much account hereafter," was the moral of the tale which Lincoln applied to the Confederate army of the time.

Chapter Thirty-Five

REPORTS ON AN INCOME TAX

The first four months of 1865 brought events which have profoundly affected the nation's political and economic life ever since. These events were: the final breakup of the Confederacy, the surrender of Lee to Grant, the assassination of Lincoln, and the beginning of a new policy of reconstruction toward the prostrate South.

As reflected in the *Tribune*, these were months of fear and trembling, hope and courage, wild exultation, a sorrow that was almost wordless at first, the creation of an attitude of hard vengeance toward the leaders of the rebellion, and a stand for universal suffrage. These were months that called for supreme news stories, which tested the paper's capacities to the full. The principles which had formed the basis of editorial policy

now needed new adaptations to present conditions and, as at other times in its history, the *Tribune* alienated old friends and made new ones. As a newspaper institution it progressed steadily through this period, reaching its highest circulation in the spring of the year.

The *Tribune* began the year by opening a fight on the 20 per cent duty on imported printing paper which was characterized as a "tax on knowledge." The weekly paper, it explained, was printed on paper which was worth within a small fraction of what the *Tribune* received for it. It could not print any more papers, it said, than those for which it had cash orders in advance, on account of the expense. "This prevents thousands from buying the paper, as there are none to be had. The tax is a swindle on the government as well as a restriction on a free press."

There was a lull on the battle fronts. The annual trade review and city statistics were printed on January 2. The Recorder's Court showed 432 convictions for crimes during the year, with larceny the chief offense.

Conspirators who had been arrested after the attempt to free the prisoners at Camp Douglas and start an uprising in the Northwest were awaiting trial before a military commission in Cincinnati.

"We seek not their lives," said the *Tribune*, which reported the trial in detail day after day, "but we do demand exact justice without regard to the wealth or position of the parties. Only prompt action of the military saved Chicago, or Chicago today would exist only in name and the monuments of wealth and commercial prosperity which adorn her avenues and business thoroughfares and make her what she is, the Queen City of the Lakes, would now be a mass of smouldering ruins."

Governor Yates and Congressman Washburne were candidates before the legislature for United States Senator. The *Tribune* supported Washburne but stood with Yates after the legislature acted. The governor's annual message on Janu-

ary 5 took nearly twelve columns of space in the *Tribune*. Of Grant the governor said: "He is the gift of the Almighty Father to the Nation. . . . No man has made Grant or can control him, his genius and deeds, for the private ends of corrupt political ambition."

A petition for repeal of the "Black Laws" of Illinois was signed by 7,000 persons and sent to the legislature. "The safety of the white race," said the *Tribune*, "lies in doing justice to the blacks, for God has declared against their oppressors."

As for the Democrats, the *Tribune* gave this advice: "The Democratic party, ruled by slave mongers since 1840, can now save itself and become a useful opposition by accepting the verdict of the people for Union and against slavery and by so voting in Congress. The Republican party has been growing stronger for twelve years, because its sympathies are broader and truer, reaching the laborer and the foreigner, black and white, soldier and sailor, protecting them by all the power of a more thorough nationality."

Five columns of ads appeared on the first page.

There was a national income tax at this time and the *Tribune* printed a list of those in Cook County who had paid on an income of more than $3,000. Among these were: Joseph Medill, $26,790; J. V. Farwell, $197,152; Potter Palmer, $338,485; J. S. Rumsey $9,165; C. H. McCormick, $67,449; William Bross, $25,957; J. L. Scripps, $23,856; Alfred Cowles, $56,268; Peter Schuttler, $103,731; John Wentworth, $5,354. Nine persons received incomes over $50,000 and under $100,000, and 591 over $3,000 and under $10,000.

The *Times* denounced the printing of this list as an outrage. The *Tribune* answered that the only outrage was that the *Tribune* got the list before the *Times* did.

Peace feelers were under way, and Francis P. Blair, with the knowledge of Lincoln, went to see Jefferson Davis. "Lincoln is disposed to be as lenient as possible," said the *Tribune*, "but insists that whatever terms are agreed on privately, the first

action of the South must be to put down its arms and back the supremacy of the Union."

Recruiting was under way and the county bounty ranged from $300 to $425. A substitute received as much as $800. Chicago was in the dark as to its new quota under the December 16 call. Refugees were flocking in from the South and an industrial home and other relief measures were considered. The *Tribune* complained that the Associated Press office in Washington was an advertising agency for Charles Sumner.

H. G. Griffiths began his reporting of the Cincinnati conspiracy trials on January 14. The election of Yates to the Senate was reported. The Union Stockyard and Transit Company was incorporated. A committee of thirty was appointed to devise some plan for cleansing the Chicago River. A canal and pumping system were proposed to change the water in the river every twenty-four hours and send it into the lake. This was to cost $1,800,000. It seemed to the *Tribune* "a good plan for a long time, perhaps for all time." A permanent Sanitary Board was appointed.

The Street Railway Company asked the legislature for an extension of its Chicago franchise from 25 to 99 years. On January 17 the *Tribune* objected to any legislation of this sort. This was the beginning of a scandal that lasted for years and which had many political repercussions. It extended into the era of Charles T. Yerkes.

The Illinois Industrial and Agricultural University was projected, with Champaign and Urbana both making a bid for it. The *Tribune* thought that Chicago should outbid these towns and get the university.

The flag was unfurled on page 1 on January 18 with the news of the capture of Fort Fisher near Wilmington by Admiral Porter, and land forces under General Terry. This was the great port for the blockade runners who had kept the Southern ladies supplied with luxuries during the war. The rebellion was again in its "last agonies." Governor Oglesby

issued a new call for troops. Medill was in Washington investigating the situation on the paper duties. In answer to an appeal from Western editors he wrote that the prospect of repeal was good. The New York papers had signed a petition for repeal and then had rescinded their action. Medill said this was because the paper monopoly cut prices to them, that they were saving $40,000 a month which had previously gone into the pockets of the papermakers. Papermaking, he said, needed protection no more than brickmaking. The New York papers were grasping at sixpence and did not foresee the dollars the paper combine would take away from them later.

Bills to allow soldiers in the field to vote and for the repeal of the " Black Laws " were introduced at Springfield. Peace rumors were in the air. Blair was back from his visit to Davis. Medill wrote from Washington on January 20: " Fill up the call for the 300,000 more men. Grant and his generals are the true peace makers. Let them alone and they will soon bring the chivalry to their milk. The peace which will follow will last a thousand years. There must be no more rebellions while the Anglo-Saxon inhabits or inherits the continent of America. The revolt and its cause [slavery] must be buried in the same grave. In life they were one, in death they must not be separated."

Chapter Thirty-Six

THE HORSECAR STEAL

Early in 1865, while still calling upon the people for all-out aid to Lincoln and the army in dealing a death blow to the rebels, the *Tribune* entered a new era of its own, one that

was to engage it on various fronts for many years. This was the war against "monopolists" and the crooked politics that went with this manifestation of big business.

The immediate occasion for the struggle was the so-called "horse-railroad bill" already mentioned, passed by the legislature at Springfield, in which the Chicago street railway companies, which had begun business in 1858, extended the life of all their ordinance grants for a period of ninety-nine years from the date of the act.

To a present-day reader who can recall the Yerkes days, the struggle over this street-railway steal in 1865 was strangely like the fight over the Allen and Humphrey bills a generation later. These bills, fostered by Yerkes, also would have loaded the city with a ninety-nine-year street-railway franchise. The *Tribune* was a leader in the fight against both these steals. The fight over the ninety-nine-year act continued until the new century and a new generation arose against it.

The *Tribune* on January 27 called for a meeting of the people to ask the Governor to refuse to sign the bill and suggested that the city lower street-car fares until the people's rights were restored.

"We believe in the final strength of the people," the paper said, "even as against the money of monopolists, of whatever class or character."

On January 27, also, Ralph Waldo Emerson lectured on education at the Unitarian Church on North Dearborn Avenue.

"Mr. Emerson," said the reporter who covered the lecture, "is a plain, unaffected gentleman. He speaks with marked emphasis and with the utmost propriety, without gesture, and looks more like a well to do farmer than the highly cultured and scholarly lecturer."

On January 28 two editorials were devoted to the "horse-railroad swindle" and a map was printed showing the railway lines in the city, picturing the streets covered by the franchises, "originally for 25 years and now stolen for 99 years."

The public meeting to build a fire under the Governor was called for Bryan Hall the next evening. " Let the indignation which has been wasted on the streets be massed in one emphatic, unanimous protest against this attempted swindle of your posterity," said the *Tribune*. " Speak now or forever hold your peace."

In the report of the meeting next day it was stated that the horse-railroad men tried to pack it, driving their men in to the front benches, but that they were soon silenced by the 2,000 who packed the hall and who passed resolutions against the bill. The *Tribune* gave twenty-five reasons why the bill should not become a law.

Things were going better in Washington where " The Dawning of Jubilee " was reported in *Tribune* news and editorials on February 1. The Antislavery Amendment to the Constitution had been verified in the House by the action of Tammany Democrats in refusing to withhold their votes. The final announcement of the vote was the signal for " a whirlwind of applause wholly without precedent in Congressional annals." " Now Liberty is the law of the land," said the *Tribune*. " The entrance to the Bastille is made."

There was talk of moving the state capital from Springfield, and Chicago offered Union Park on the West Side as a site, with $500,000 for buildings.

Another horse-railroad mass meeting was called on February 4. " Turn out tonight, mechanics and workmen," said the *Tribune*, " and say whether the horse-railroad monopolists are to rule the city."

The Illinois " Black Laws " were reported a thing of the past on February 6. The *Tribune* shared in the credit for this. Governor Oglesby vetoed the street-railroad bill and asked that the measure be submitted to the people at a special election. The announcement of the veto was received with enthusiasm in Chicago. " Rockets were sent up in the air copiously, the people shouted their joy in the streets. Men shook hands with each

other and all felt happy except those pecuniarily interested in the passage of the bill."

On February 7 a two-column editorial on the first page, and two columns of news from Springfield, told the story of the legislature having passed the street-car bill over the Governor's veto. "The deed is done," said the Springfield correspondent. "The horse-railway bill with all its odious features passed both houses, the Senate by 18 to 5 and the House by 55 to 23. Chicago is bound hand and foot and delivered over to an unscrupulous and never ending monopoly. Three men representing Cook County voted for it. What influences led them to defy and trample on the wishes of the people it is not for me to say."

The *Tribune* advocated taking the matter into court and also electing a city government "to protect the people against this swindle. If the people, whose rights have been assailed in this high handed manner, are in earnest, if they are worthy of the liberty in which they were born, and for which their brothers even now are battling on distant fields; if, in short, they are imbued with the spirit of American citizens, they will resolve that this fight has just begun."

The opening of S. M. Fassett's Photographic Gallery was one of the special events of the season in Chicago. The names of the legislators who "had voted to rob three generations of the people of Chicago," were printed on February 8. Another mass meeting was called and a committee of 100 was appointed to form a plan of action.

Lincoln and Secretary Seward met representatives of the rebels on a ship in Chesapeake Bay. Details of this conference were given in the paper on February 11.

"Mr. Lincoln's duty is done," said the *Tribune*. "Negotiation as a means of ending the war, except in favor of the rebels, is an absurdity. If the Union is to be restored, as we know it can be and believe it will be, the result will be attained by our armies and navies, not by negotiation."

Cook County was assessed more than 5,000 men as its quota under the last call, it was announced on February 13. The *Tribune* said it was useless to try to fill this by recruiting, since the cost of bounties would be three million dollars. "On the basis of truth and true enrollment this county is not in arrears," said the *Tribune*. "Cook County owes no 5,200 men and it is for the draft committee to see that this imposition is not saddled on us."

On the subject of the action of the legislature in passing the horse-railway bill over the Governor's veto, the *Tribune* admitted that it was taken by surprise, and commented:

"The public knows that a given sum in greenbacks will pass any bill at Springfield that can be named, and pass it over a veto."

Illinois had reached her 150th regiment, it was stated on February 14. "Our loyal citizens are ready to send the last man and the bottom dollar to aid the cause of the Union," said the *Tribune*, "but the credits should be kept better and the errors amended." A draft meeting of citizens, representing the ward associations, was called. Peter Daggy of the Tenth Ward moved to send a committee to Springfield, and to Washington if necessary, to correct the quota. Medill spoke at the meeting, explaining that the difficulty lay in the excessive enrollment. He was sure that there were not more than 18,000 men in the city capable of bearing arms. The new assessment, he said, was based on fraudulent voting enrollments. Cook County, he said, did not owe a man on the last enrollment, and the only thing to do was to send an influential committee to Washington to lay the case before Father Abraham and get an order for a new enrollment. Elliott Anthony suggested that the Cook County Congressman be asked to press the case before the President.

A committee of five was appointed to go to Washington. This consisted of Senator Trumbull, Congressman I. N. Arnold, John Wentworth, Mayor Sherman, and Joseph Medill. Medill was directed to telegraph Senator Trumbull, requesting

Chicago Tribune.

VOL. XVIII. CHICAGO, MONDAY, APRIL 10, 1865 NUMBER 275.

NEWS BY TELEGRAPH.

THE END.

THE OLD FLAG VINDICATED.

LEE AND HIS WHOLE ARMY SURRENDERED YESTERDAY.

The Official Correspondence between Gens. Grant and Lee.

The Officers and Men to be Paroled and Go Home Until Exchanged.

All Arms Artillery and Munitions of War Delivered to Gen. Grant.

Officers to Retain Side Arms, Horses and Baggage.

Selma, Ala., Reported Burned by Union Cavalry

Later from Mobile—The City being Gradually Invested

Interesting from Richmond—The Contents of Treasonists Letter Book.

NEW ADVERTISEMENTS.

NEW SKIRT

ROSS, FOSTER & CO.

SAVAGE, KEITH & WOOD,

FANCY DRY GOODS, NOTIONS, Hosiery & Gloves, &c.

A. N. MILLER,

Fine Watches, Diamonds, Fine Jewelry, Opera Glasses,

PENDELQUES,

A. H. MILLER.

THE BIG CREEK PETROLEUM

LOCATION.

DEVELOPMENT.

WORKING CAPITAL.

ORDERS

U. S. 7-30 LOAN.

7-30 LOAN.

First National Bank,

PIANOS.

SEALED GOODS.

Furniture Wanted.

CLOTHS. CASSIMERES AND VESTINGS,

TWEEDS KENTUCKY JEANS

LEATHER BELTING

ROOFING PAPER.

WAR CLAIMS.

Purington & Scranton,

SHIP CHANDLERY

AWNINGS, TENTS, WAGON COVERS & FLAGS

TIGER.

Gold Mining Company,

BEWARE! BEWARE!

OPENING! OPENING!

APPLE CIDER.

With the War Department's bulletin announcing the surrender of Appomattox, the Tribune *printed the official correspondence between Generals Grant and Lee.*

him to speak to the President and get a suspension of the quota until the committee had arrived.

Among each one hundred voters, the *Tribune* declared on February 15, there were not more than sixty or seventy likely to be drafted. Yet in this enrollment, 115 were drafted to every one hundred voters. New York, it was stated, had had similar trouble the year before, and after bringing the difficulty to the President's attention, that state had had its quota reduced. Similar results in Illinois were predicted.

Representing one reaction to the *Tribune's* fight on the horse-railway bill, the *Illinois State Journal* said that the *Tribune* should "remember that its senior proprietor [Lt. Gov. Bross] presides over the Senate and is largely responsible for the legislation of the present session. Senators and representatives have a right to better treatment from the organ of the Lieutenant Governor."

The *Tribune* responded: "The Lieutenant Governor is in no way responsible for legislation. He has no vote except in a tie. Members have a right to expect just such treatment as they deserve. If they pass bills to put a large portion of the people of the state under a moneyed monopoly and give their property to such a monopoly without compensation, in defiance of protest, over a veto, they must expect to face the indignation of the people. We do say that this act shall be held to public view in all its enormity wherever we find an audience."

Attacks on the "Springfield Bear Garden," as the legislature was called, continued, with added attention to penitentiary legislation, in which it was charged that members profited. It was termed "a unique picture in public ignominy. There is no way to bring men to justice but an aroused public opinion," said the *Tribune*. "We still believe that the people are capable of administering government in common decency and honesty."

The movement to take the capital away from Springfield was stopped.

On February 17 the draft enrollment committee reported that the Governor had admitted that the enrollment was a grievous wrong. Cook County, the committee said, had put 18,786 men in the field, and on percentage of population were 1,400 men ahead of the quotas. The Governor agreed to have the Adjutant General go to Washington with the committee. The old committee appointed to visit Washington was discharged and the following appointed in its place: Colonel R. M. Hough, City Controller S. S. Hayes, and Joseph Medill. The Senators and Congressmen were to help in Washington. Provost Marshal James said that there was only one way to free the quota and that was to provide men. The last quota had been cut fifty per cent, he said, but that was only putting off the evil day.

The military situation was considered hopeful at this time. "The grand combine movement is bearing fruit," said the *Tribune* on February 18. "Grant says that with 100,000 fresh troops he can terminate the rebel government by May 1. The people are rapidly furnishing the men. The same Providence, in harmony with whose eternal laws of justice and righteousness we are fighting, has guided us to success hitherto and still guides us."

Chapter Thirty-Seven

"THE OLD MAN IS RIGHT"

CHICAGO's quota troubles were finally settled in February of 1865. They were not settled to the satisfaction of the Chicago committee headed by Medill, which held its famous interview with the President as reported in the *Tribune* at the time. But

the Chicago committee swallowed its sense of injustice and went ahead resolutely to fill the demands of Lincoln for more men. The war, although this was not clearly seen at the time, was approaching its end.

Daily articles appeared in the *Tribune* stimulating recruiting, which was proceeding on the expectation of a lower quota basis. The President and Mrs. Lincoln were expected to attend the Northwestern Fair, which was to be held in May for the benefit of the Sanitary Commission and the Soldiers' Home. Great preparations were being made for this event, which was a forerunner of future World's Fairs. The famous eagle of the 8th Wisconsin Regiment was to be there, attended by soldiers. This bird, caught in the crags by an Indian, had been in thirteen battles and had had its tail feathers shot off.

"Charleston, the birthplace of the rebellion, has fallen," the *Tribune* announced on February 21. "Victory — John Brown's Soul Is Marching On." The flag floated again on page 1. It would be an act of retributive justice, the *Tribune* thought, to raze Charleston to the ground, "or like the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah, leave a pile of ashes as a memento to the home of treason. We do righteously glory in the fall of this nest of vipers, coupling our rejoicing with profound gratitude to God, who is at once the God of Battles and the Prince of Peace."

"Gen. Sherman," it was said the next day, "has penetrated into the very heart of the Gasconade state, the region of cowardly bluster — of windy proclamations and horizontal coat tails — of fierce, fire-eating fiends who can bark defiance at the whole world and when attacked go yelping and limping into their kennels."

The President gave his views on the draft on February 22 in connection with the appeal of Rhode Island for a new quota. Many states had made similar complaints and the President had examined the formula of the Provost Marshal General for the States and had found it fair and equitable. He could not per-

mit a postponement to Rhode Island. Fifty-nine recruits were added to the Chicago rolls on this day at from $400 to $500 a man. Brokers made profits on furnishing men to the army.

It was announced on February 25 that the Provost Marshal had refused a re-enrollment for Chicago. The *Tribune* said, however, that the President saw the injustice of the present enrollment and undoubtedly would use his influence for a fair quota.

The *Tribune* was in controversy at this time with President Blanchard of Wheaton College over what were described as "the antiquated and obsolete studies which make up the burden of the ordinary college course." President Blanchard stood for the classical course and the *Tribune* argued for the scientific. The question arose over the courses to be offered at the new college of industry and agriculture which the state was establishing, and which later developed into the University of Illinois. The arguments sound quite modern in tone, presenting questions which are still under discussion in the educational world.

A special three-column story from a *Tribune* correspondent on the capture of Wilmington, North Carolina, was carried on February 27. There was a particularly harrowing description of the Union prisoners rescued from Camp Lamb. "Pale, haggard and emaciated skeletons glared on us from glassy eyes whose light of reason was just expiring," wrote the correspondent. "With matted hair and skin blackened with smoke, scarcely covered with filthiest shreds of cast-off rebel clothing, without blankets and most without coats and shoes, they gazed on us with almost idiotic stare, while the majority could with difficulty be roused from their listlessness, clutching the bread our soldiers brought. Many had forgotten their names."

"We are sending to the rebels their prisoners well fed, well clothed, in good health in first-class passenger cars," said the *Tribune*. "The rebels are sending us idiots and skeletons."

The interview with the President by the Chicago draft committee was reported on February 28. The committee had been with the President for two hours and other states were waiting on the decision. The committee had asked for a re-enrollment in Cook County, promising 2,600 men at once and the others to await the new roll. The President had said this request could not be granted and that the present quota of 5,200 must be filled as quickly as possible. There was no comment that day, but on March 1 the *Tribune* said:

"There seems to be nothing left for the people of Cook County to do but to fill the quota assessed to them, and to rely on a future enrollment to prove the injustice of the call, and a future draft, if there be one, to relieve them of their disproportionate share of the burden. The reasons assigned by the President for refusing to order the new enrollment immediately are founded on considerations for public safety, to which all local considerations must succumb. The people of Cook County can appreciate these reasons. They can and will fill the quota which they are required to face notwithstanding the manifest and glaring injustice of the enrollment."

Ida Tarbell in her life of Lincoln (Vol. 2, page 148) has made the error of fixing this interview in 1864. She writes:

> The quotas assigned to the States led to endless disputes between the governors and the War Department; the drafts caused riots; an inferior kind of soldier was obtained by drafting, and deserters increased. Lincoln shirked none of these cares. He was determined that the efficiency of the war engine should be kept up, and nobody in the Government studied more closely how this was to be done, or insisted more vigorously on the full execution of the law. In assigning the quotas to the different States, certain credits were made of men who had enlisted previously. Many disputes arose over the credits and assignments, some of them most perplexing. Ultimately most of these reached the President. The draft bore heavily on districts where the percentage of death among the first volunteers had been large, and often urgent pleas were made to the President to release a city or county from the quota assigned.

The late Joseph Medill, the editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, [interview given her in June, 1895] once told me how he and certain leading citizens of Chicago went to Lincoln to ask that the quota of Cook County be reduced.

"In 1864, when the call for extra troops came, Chicago revolted," said Mr. Medill. "She had already sent 22,000 men up to that time and was drained. When the new call came, there were no young men to go — no aliens except what were bought. The citizens held a mass meeting and appointed three persons, of whom I was one, to go to Washington and ask Stanton to give Cook County a new enrollment. I begged off; but the committee insisted, so I went. On reaching Washington, we went to Stanton with our statement. He refused entirely to give us the desired aid. Then we went to Lincoln.

"'I cannot do it,' he said, 'but I will go with you to Stanton and hear the arguments of both sides.' So we all went over to the War Department together. Stanton and General Frye were there, and they, of course, contended that the quota should not be changed. The argument went on for some time and finally was referred to Lincoln, who had been sitting silently listening. I shall never forget how he suddenly lifted his head and turned on us a black and frowning face.

"'Gentlemen,' he said, in a voice full of bitterness, 'after Boston, Chicago has been the chief instrument in bringing this war on the country. The Northwest has opposed the South as New England has opposed the South. It is you who are largely responsible for making blood flow as it has. You called for war until we had it. You called for Emancipation, and I have given it to you. Whatever you have asked you have had. Now you come here begging to be let off from the call for men which I have made to carry out the war you have demanded. You ought to be ashamed of yourselves. I have a right to expect better things of you. Go home, and raise your 6,000 extra men. And you, Medill, you are acting like a coward. You and your Tribune have had more influence than any paper in the Northwest for making this war. You can influence great masses, and yet you cry to be spared at a moment when your cause is suffering. Go home and send us those men.'

"I couldn't say anything. It was the first time I ever was whipped, and I didn't have an answer. We all got up and went out, and when the door closed, one of my colleagues said:

"'Well, gentlemen, the old man is right. We ought to be ashamed of ourselves. Let us never say anything about this, but go home and raise the men.' And we did – 6,000 men, making 28,000 in the war from a city of 156,000. But there might have been crape on every door almost in Chicago, for every family had lost a son or a husband. I lost two brothers. It was hard for the mothers.'"

On March 4 the Cook County deficit of men was 3,254 and the county was getting ready for the draft.

Chapter Thirty-Eight

"A. LINCOLN" REPORTS THE NEWS

LINCOLN'S second inaugural, the converging of Grant's forces on Richmond, and the swift surrender of Lee with the rebel army broken and the war ended at last, were the events recorded in the memorable spring of 1865. Chicago's troubles in finding new fighting men were over, and the city was given over to jubilation unbounded, soon to be followed, however, by terrible tragedy.

Lincoln's inaugural was given two first-page descriptive stories and an editorial contrasting it with the first inaugural. The story of the inauguration was a departure from the usual highly colored, many-adjectived leads of those days.

"President Lincoln was inaugurated at 12 o'clock, noon, today," was the simple beginning. "The President's inaugural is an exceedingly brief, terse, Saxon document; strong in its naturalness, impressive in its simplicity, directness and force. The leading characteristic of the address is its devout recogni-

tion of the moral and religious elements involved in the contest, in words which the people of the United States as a Christian nation will welcome from their chief magistrate and approve. It will pay being read with a care proportionate to its brevity."

In the widening controversy over the relative merit of classical and scientific educations, the *Tribune* stood for science. " The study of Latin and Greek," it said, " was never so prevalent as in the Dark Ages, when Latin was the language of the educated. But they did not lift us out of the slough of darkness. Still less will they lead our progress now. Aside from the New Testament they are but the words of men. The sciences introduce us to the works of God. Which most demands our reverence and study? "

The *Elgin* (Ill.) *Gazette* was quoted on March 7 on the subject of the legislature and the horse-railroad bill. " At Springfield and at the statehouse," said the *Gazette*, " it was sufficient to laugh at the *Chicago Tribune*, but in this section it does more to mould and direct public opinion than any other, we might say than all other agencies. Hence the people are almost unanimous in condemning the bill."

The Washington draft committee reported on March 7. Medill told the meeting that they had done the best they could but that all they got was the promise of a new enrollment after the present draft was filled.

On March 10 a meeting was held to consider ways of protecting the city against monopolies. This might be called one of the expressions of the coming age of political insurgency, for the feeling against monopolies ran high among the farmers over freight rates and Board of Trade speculators, and among city dwellers over the 99-year franchise bill. It was advocated at this meeting that the Republican party adopt a policy against the " horse-railroad swindle " for the next campaign. " The Republican party will continue to exist until the principles which called it into life shall be fully established," said the *Tribune*. " The time is not yet."

Here also was the beginning of civic nonpartisan organizations, such as the Citizens' Association and the Municipal Voters' League. A committee of one hundred citizens entered the political field, not as a new party, but as independents to pick men of integrity for office who would oppose such monopoly grabs as the railroad deal.

The *Tribune* commented on March 13 on the alleged intoxication of Vice-President Johnson at the inauguration. He should resign, the paper said, or make a public apology to the Senate; and if he refused, the Senate was fully justified in removing him by impeachment.

Columns were devoted at this time to the new oil industry in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and New York.

On March 17 there were five columns of advertisements on page 1. The *Tribune* said it was being so crowded by the advertisers that "it might have to issue a larger paper."

The President's health was in question on March 21. His constitution was giving way, the Washington correspondent said, and he really needed a long vacation. This was considered an opportune time.

"Sherman and Grant," said the *Tribune* on March 23, "like the jaws of a terrible vise, are nearing one another. Richmond is ours either by surrender or evacuation. The end is near."

Sherman's march from Savannah to Fayetteville, North Carolina, from January 20 to March 13, was recorded. He had taken 14 cities, 4,000 prisoners, much stock and cannon. Grant, Meade, Sheridan, Schofield, and Sherman were converging with 240,000 men. Lee and Johnston had about 100,000.

The *Tribune* began to stir up the Republicans for the April 12 elections. A hog from Geneva weighing 1,076 pounds was exhibited in the streets. The doom of the Copperhead section of the Democrats was in sight, the *Tribune* said, suggesting that the Invincibles go to Mexico, "for the brand of Cain is upon them."

The story of the President's faith in "a heap of fighting in

100,000 Western veterans" was told on March 25. The *Tribune* shared that faith as the crisis approached between Lee and Grant.

After the end of the rebellion, the *Tribune* prophesied on March 29, that the British colonies in Canada would seek annexation. "It may take some years, but no future event is more certain."

April was ushered in by the bells of victory. The flag appeared on page 1 on April 3 under the heading of "Victory. . . . After Three Days of Fighting the Army of the Potomac Has Struck a Death Blow." A year ago, it was stated, Grant had forced Lee back into his capital. Since then he had been closing the toils, stopping communications and supplies. "And now Grant hurls his legions like a thunderbolt."

Reports from City Point, Union army headquarters, were signed by "A. Lincoln." They consisted of Grant's dispatches to Secretary Stanton, fed to the press by the President. "No reporter with the Potomac army has ever sent more welcome and important dispatches to the American press," said the *Tribune*. There had been no vacation for the President.

"Richmond is ours," was the news of the first week of April. "The old flag floats over the rebel capital. Richmond and Petersburg are evacuated. Lee has gone toward Danville with Grant in pursuit.

"Richmond has fallen and a day of jubilee has come. The rebellion is among the things of the past. From the ashes of the rebel capital will rise a new life to the United States. Freedom will henceforth be the crown and glory of the Republic. The beloved country, for which so many beloved lives have been given, so many tears have been shed, so many prayers offered to the Almighty Father, is saved."

Three first-page columns chronicled the news. On the local scenes it was reported:

> No sooner had the good news spread from our bulletins throughout the city than business was in a great degree suspended. Within

half an hour the city was ablaze with the banner of beauty and the symbol of freedom waving from every available staff, from spires of our vessels, all principal buildings, mercantile houses and private residences. Processions of working men and teams filled the streets; bands of music discoursed their stirring and eloquent strains, artillery and other "pomp and circumstance of glorious war" patrolled the streets. The day rivaled the Fourth of July in patriotic uproar. Last but not least, and attracted doubtless by these evidences that the people of Chicago were sound on the American eagle, that falcon-eyed bird of freedom which haunts the interior recesses of the *Tribune* establishment, emerged like President Lincoln "to the front." Here he showed his appreciation of the news by turning his back on the crowd and his face to the bulletins.

Certainly yesterday has no rival in the history of Chicago. Three years ago we threw up our hats in a fury of enthusiasm over Grant's first victory at Donelson, because we saw that our country had found her man. We have followed him faithfully through Shiloh, Vicksburg, Chattanooga and Spottsylvania and in all his campaign before Richmond; and now Illinois proudly rejoices to have contributed not only the largest quotas of men, but both the civil and military leaders who have conducted us to victory in this contest. Beyond any portion of the country, therefore, Illinois has reason to rejoice in this day.

On terms of peace the *Tribune* said: "Let the government grant no terms of peace other than befits its own dignity and the vindication of its authority, by executing the punishment due crime and guilt of the darkest hue. We recognize in the entire war, the hand of a ruling and over-ruling Providence, encouraging us by victory and instructing us by disaster, sustaining us by successes and purifying us by chastisements, both of which have tended equally though differently to the great and glorious consummation. Our four years of war are not a failure [as the Chicago platform of the Democratic party had stated] and have never been except in the forebodings of the faithless infidels to their country, their Freedom and their God."

There were three columns of description of the Chicago celebration, which included church meetings and a mass meet-

ing at Bryan Hall addressed by T. B. Bryan, Thomas Hoyne, Lieutenant Governor Bross, and others.

It was announced on April 6 that Lee's loss in this last great battle had been 45,000 men. Johnston was cut off with Sherman and Sheridan in pursuit. The *London Times*, which had predicted the death of the Republic, " must now eat humble pie."

An evening edition of the *Tribune* was announced on April 7 as soon to be published. This was intended for Iowa, Minnesota, and other far sections. The morning trains from Chicago to these points went no farther than the Mississippi River during the day and then waited until the next morning to proceed. Trains leaving Chicago in the evening went straight through. Therefore the evening paper would carry the latest news.

The official end of the war came on April 10. Lee and his whole army had surrendered, the *Tribune* said in four columns of first-page bulletins.

> The sun in its course on this blessed tenth of April, 1865, beholds a Union restored, inseparable, indivisible, eternal. The news received at 10 o'clock Sunday evening awoke the wildest enthusiasm. Crowds thronged the streets in front of the *Tribune* office and the Tremont House, shouting the glad tidings, which were caught up by the Courthouse bell and borne to distant parts of the city, while rockets sped aloft conveying the intelligence that a great victory had been achieved for the cause of Freedom and Union. Miriam's hymn was chanted with fervent joy by thousands of loyal hearts: " Sing unto the Lord, for He hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and the rider He hath thrown into the sea."
>
> The great rebellion has ended. Glory to God in the highest; peace on earth and good will to men.

Chapter Thirty-Nine

THE ASSASSINATION

April of 1865 ended an important period of American history. The *Tribune*, which had been lifting hosannas to the skies, was now plunged into mourning with the people. The news of Lincoln's assassination ended a period of *Tribune* history also. The paper had to find a new course and a new leader. It accepted at first Andrew Johnson, now become President, but it was soon at war with him in a struggle which lasted for years, and which led into the political complexities of the Grant administration and beyond. Reconstruction, which was begun with such high hopes and determination by the Northern victors, became, like the war itself, a slow, disillusioning, fumbling affair. A period now began which holds lessons for modern conquerors.

A new management came to the *Tribune* at this time, when the paper had reached the highest circulation point in its history. Joseph Medill stepped out and Horace White became editor in chief. For the next nine years the *Tribune* was to take a different tone politically, while remaining a good, and at times brilliantly edited, newspaper. This period, and that which followed when Medill assumed control of the paper again, will be the subject of the second volume of this history.

On the problem of Reconstruction the *Tribune* said on April 10:

> This has been a rich man's war. We have from the first branded the war as a war of aristocracy against democracy, of slave holders against working men, of oligarchs against the people.

Shall we reconstruct the Union on the principle of the aristocracy which has overthrown it or on the broadest possible basis of true democracy? Shall we return to the throne the ancient slave holding aristocracy of the South who have brought disunion and all its attendant woes upon us? Shall we hand over to them, bound hand and foot, the white and black loyalty of the South? Shall we release Barabbas and crucify Christ? Or shall we, on the other hand, give free and honest labor the same political rights as here?

Let us have the Union as it ought to be. Can this be accomplished while none have any voice in the South but the sworn enemies of the government? Can we put new wine into old bottles or Unionism into secession leaders? Since the rebels have failed in their rich man's war let us not give them success by a rich man's peace. Let us have such a peace as shall open up the South forever to free labor, free speech, free schools, a free pulpit, a free press and a free road upward for all men from poverty to wealth and from obscurity to honor.

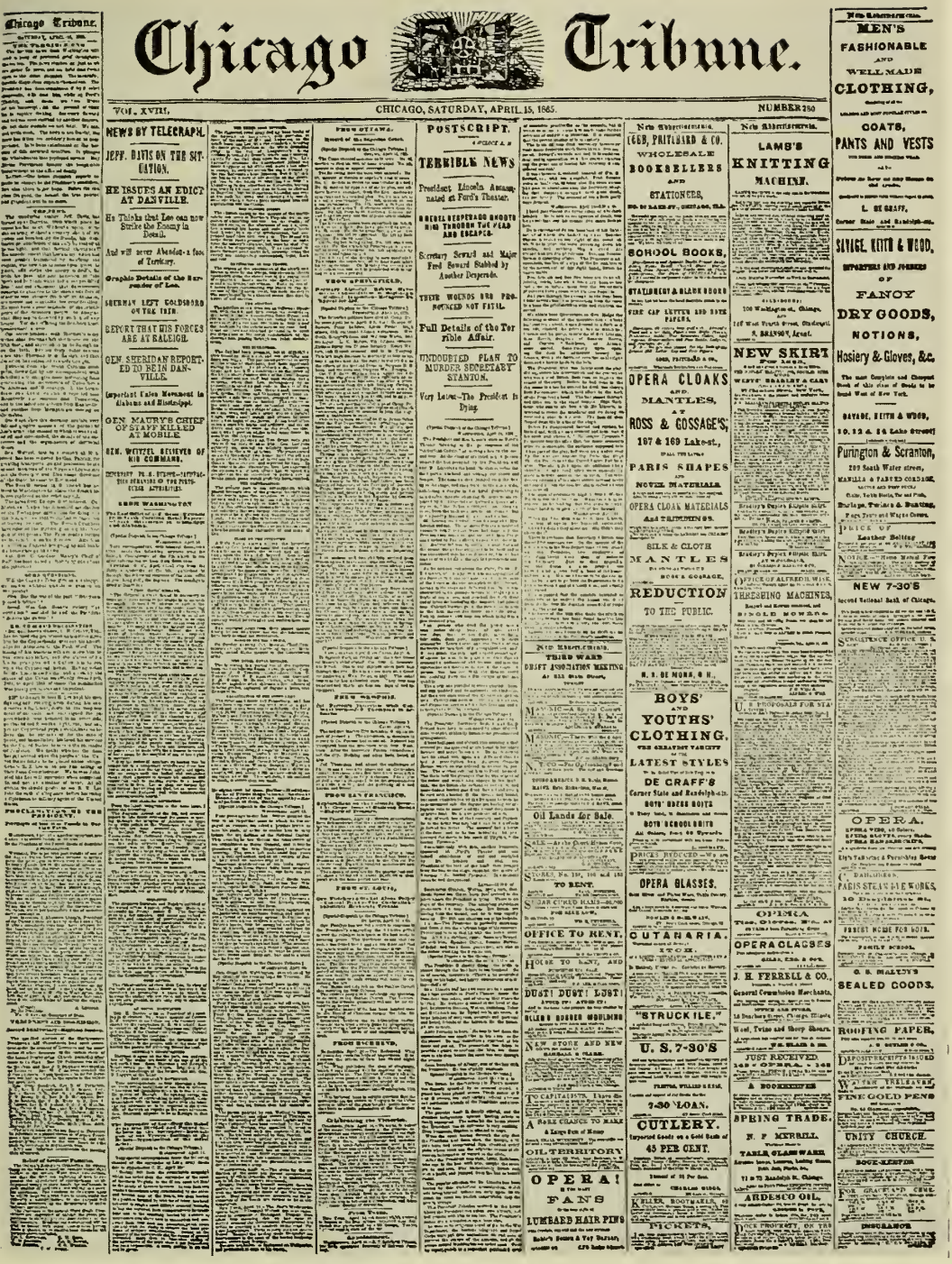
It was on these principles that the *Tribune* fought during the reconstruction years, in what Claude G. Bowers calls "the tragic era" of American history.

John B. Rice was announced as the Republican candidate for mayor of Chicago.

On the day that news of the surrender came the *Tribune* printed 53,000 papers, which was said to be the largest number of one edition of a newspaper ever issued in the Northwest. The average daily circulation for that week was 44,000.

The surrender celebration resulted in a parade which took four hours in passing the *Tribune* office. "Lee surrenders 22,000. There were 20,000 people in front of the *Tribune* office, with one sentiment only — joy. Nothing like this celebration was ever witnessed in our streets. The whole population quit business and flooded the streets to shout, sing, laugh, dance and cry for very gladness."

April 12: "The radical doctrines taught by the *Tribune* long in advance of their acceptance have been fully endorsed and adopted by the government, and what was at first pro-



Chicago Tribune.

VOL. XVIII. CHICAGO, SATURDAY, APRIL 15, 1865. NUMBER 250

NEWS BY TELEGRAPH.

JEFF. DAVIS ON THE SITUATION.

HE ISSUES AN EDICT AT DANVILLE.

He Thinks that Lee can now Strike the Enemy in Detail.

And will never Abandon a foot of Territory.

Graphic Details of the Surrender of Lee.

SHERMAN LEFT GOLDSBORO ON THE 10th.

REPORT THAT HIS FORCES ARE AT RALEIGH.

GEN. SHERIDAN REPORTED TO BE IN DANVILLE.

Important Rebel Movement in Alabama and Mississippi.

GEN. MAURY'S CHIEF OF STAFF KILLED AT MOBILE.

GEN. WEITZEL RELIEVED OF HIS COMMAND.

SECRETARY M. E. STONE—INTERESTING SEARCH OF THE POSTOFFICE ATTORNEYS.

POSTSCRIPT.

SPECIAL

TERRIBLE NEWS

President Lincoln Assassinated at Ford's Theater.

REBEL DESPERADO SHOOTS HIM THROUGH THE HEAD AND ESCAPES.

Secretary Seward and Major Fred Seward Stabbed by Another Desperado.

THEIR WOUNDS ARE PRONOUNCED NOT FATAL.

Full Details of the Terrible Affair.

UNDOUBTED PLAN TO MURDER SECRETARY STANTON.

Very Latest—The President is Dying.

New Advertisements.

LAMB'S KNITTING MACHINE.

NEW SKIRT

OPERA CLOAKS AND MANTLES, AT ROSS & GOSSAGE'S, 167 & 169 Lake-st.,

PARIS SHAPES IN NOVEL MATERIALS

OPERA CLOAK MATERIALS And TRIMMINGS.

SILK & CLOTH MANTLES

REDUCTION TO THE PUBLIC.

BOYS' AND YOUTHS' CLOTHING.

DE GRAFF'S Corner State and Randolph-sts.

OPERA GLASSES.

CUTANARIA.

"STRUCK ILE."

U. S. 7-30'S

7-30 LOAN.

CUTLERY.

45 PER CENT.

SAVAGE, KEITH & WOOD,

MEN'S FASHIONABLE AND WELL MADE CLOTHING,

COATS, PANTS AND VESTS

DRY GOODS, NOTIONS, Hosiery & Gloves, &c.

Purington & Scranton,

NEW 7-30'S

OPERA.

DAGUERREAN PARIS STEAM DYE WORKS.

FINE GOLD PENS

UNITY CHURCH.

INSURANCE

Headlined "Terrible News," the front-page story of April 15, 1865 told of the assassination of President Lincoln at Ford's Theater.

nounced impractical radicalism is now revealed as practical statesmanship."

It was announced on April 14 that John Locke Scripps had disposed of his interest in the *Tribune*. He had not been connected with it editorially since his appointment as postmaster of Chicago, but now he had sold his interest in the paper to Horace White, who had succeeded Medill as editor in chief. "Always firm for the right," said the *Tribune* of Mr. Scripps, "he never indulged in personalities, and never allowed his party affinities to warp his judgment or embitter his pen in dealing with political adversaries. 'And thus he bore without reproach, the grand old name of gentleman.'"

Lee was characterized by the *Tribune* as a "public enemy — an average Virginia slave holder in moral character, nothing more."

The draft was stopped and it was announced there would be no more recruiting. The opera season opened and the President and Mrs. Lincoln signified their intention of coming to the Northwestern Fair which was to open May 30.

It was in this atmosphere of rejoicing and peace, with what appeared to be a clear future ahead for Chicago, that the *Tribune* announced in a 4 a.m. "Postscript" on April 15:

"Terrible News. President Lincoln Assassinated at Ford's Theatre. A Rebel Desperado Shoots Him Through the Head and Escapes."

There were one and one-half columns of assorted bulletins and a brief editorial in which the editor said: "The news reached us just as we were going to press and we held the form open to the latest moment. The mournful, terrible dispatches explain themselves and we cannot write more. The news is too fearful, the blow has fallen too suddenly almost to comprehend. In it have culminated all the horrors of the accursed rebellion. It plunges the whole nation into profound sorrow."

"Latest — Our latest dispatch reports no material change in

the President's condition, but alas there is no hope. Before the sun arises, the good, the honest, the true patriot and President will be no more."

Eight columns devoted to "The Great Calamity" were given on the first page of the *Tribune* of April 17, with the second and fourth pages equally filled with the story of a nation in tears.

"President Lincoln," said the *Tribune* in an editorial, "whose life was covered with glory by his faithfulness to his country has ascended to his God. Pale in death, murdered by the hellish spirit of slavery, his body lies at the nation's capital — a new sacrifice upon our country's altar. All the land weeps, for we loved none as we loved him.

"He was so great, where men are rarely great — in his simplicity, his integrity, his purity of patriotic purpose, his kindliness of heart, especially before the class of offenders before whose malignity he falls a martyr. Already the complaint was on the lips of the nation that he was in danger of sacrificing justice and security to leniency, when he is struck down by those whom he is lifting up. He is murdered by those whom he would have spared and reconciled."

The *Tribune* explained that President Andrew Johnson had been feeling ill and had taken a glass of brandy on inauguration day, which had overcome him. He had not had anything to drink since then, it was said, and: "Let us have confidence in Andy Johnson until he gives us reason for withdrawing it."

It was reported that F. C. Sherman would not be a candidate for mayor because he "could not stand with the Copperheads who had murdered the President."

Opera in Chicago was postponed. The city was draped in mourning. All courts and business ceased. "Strong men wept in the streets and loud sobs were frequently heard." "Our President has fallen," said an editorial, "in the prime of his energy and usefulness, another martyr to the demon Slavery. His fame undimmed will shine brighter and brighter, as rebel-

lion disappears and the Union survives – clearer and holier as slavery passes into history and Liberty fills the world.

" Those who sought to crucify the spirit of freedom will behold it roll away the stone from the sepulchre, and visit, with Pentecostal effusion, its disciples inspiring them with a faith that shall overturn the world.

" Hitherto the name of Washington has stood first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen. His star shall not decrease, but that of another shall increase, until, richer and more heavenly than the fame of him who emancipated his country will be the glory of him who gave emancipation to an outcast race and people. The first was manly and patriotic; the last Christlike and Divine.

" Those who are now young will but live to see the dawning of the fame and power of the martyred Lincoln."

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Of Janson himself little is known. He may have been a relative of Justus Janson, a printer of Danish birth who practised in Leipzig from 1614 to 1635. Some time between 1657 and 1668 Anton Janson, a punch-cutter and type-founder, bought from the Leipzig printer Johann Erich Hahn the type-foundry which had formerly been a part of the printing house of M. Friedrich Lankisch. Janson's types were first shown in a specimen sheet issued at Leipzig about 1675. Janson's successor, and perhaps his son-in-law, Johann Karl Edling, issued a specimen sheet of Janson types in 1689. His heirs sold the Janson matrices in Holland to Wolffgang Dietrich Erhardt.

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